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A

POLITICAL AND GENERAL HISTORY

OF

THE DISTRICT OF TINNEVELLY,

IN THE

PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO ITS CESSION TO THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN A.D. 1801.

BY

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HISTORY OF TINNEVELLY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO ITS CESSION TO THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN A.D. 1801.

CHAPTER I.

INFORMATION FROM WITHOUT RESPECTING THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION.—PAUCITY OF SOURCES OF HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Meaning of the word "history."

VERY little is known with certainty of the early history of most districts in India. It is a singular fact that the Hindûs, though fond of philosophy and poetry, of law, mathematics, and architecture, of music and the drama, and especially of religious or theosophic speculations and disquisitions, seem never to have cared anything for history. The original meaning of the word "history" is investigation, and the Hindûs never appear to have cared to investigate. There is hardly anything in the Indian Epic poems or Purânas that can be dignified by this name. The only histories, properly so called, India has produced were written in, and pertained to, regions that can only be included in the general name of India with some qualification. These are the Râja-tarangini[1] of Cashmere and the Mahâ-wanso[2] of Ceylon. These compositions, it is true, are not free from poetical exaggerations and evince much carelessness about accuracy in details, but on the whole they may be accepted as historical. Can it be that it was through the prevalence in India of a succession of dreamy philosophies that history became virtually an unknown department of literature? This may have had something to do with it, but perhaps the chief cause was the fondness of the mass

[1] Râja-tarangini, stream of kings written in A.D. 1148.

[2] Mahâ-wanso (= Sanak. vamsa) The Great Dynasty, written between A.D. 459 and 477

CHAPTER I.

Reasons why the Hindûs cared little for historical truth.

of the people in all ages for poetical embellishment. It seemed to them a dull thing to record any event in the history of a king or a country exactly as it happened. It could be made to appear so much more interesting if the poetical narrator's fertile imagination were allowed free play. Whatever the cause may have been, the fact cannot be disputed that historical certainty with regard to the early history of any part of India, if attainable at all, is attainable not by means of any kind of historical composition in verse or prose proceeding from Indian literati, belonging to the district, but solely by means of coins and inscriptions and the statements contained in books written by persons belonging to foreign nations. Light is thrown, for instance, on the early history of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas by the Singhalese Mahā-wanso, and we are indebted for some interesting items of information respecting the history of Southern India to the Greeks, to the Muhammadans of the North, and to European Christian travellers.

Historical information from without.

I may here appropriately quote a portion of my Address delivered at the Convocation of the University of Madras in 1879.

Learned Natives in Northern India have made a good beginning.

"The study of the history, ancient literature, and archæology of the country will never reach anything like completeness of development or realize results of national importance till it is systematically undertaken by educated Natives. Learned Natives of Calcutta and Bombay, trained in European modes of thought and vieing with Europeans in zeal for historical accuracy, have already made a promising beginning in this department of research. I trust that the Native scholars of the South will resolve that they will not be left behind in the race. The most important aid educated Natives can render to the study of the history of their country is by means of a search after inscriptions, many of which, hitherto unnoticed and unknown, they will find inviting their attention on the walls of the temples in almost every village in the interior. The only ancient Indian history worthy of the name is that which has been spelled out from inscriptions and coins. Popular legends and poetical myths, by whatever name they are dignified, may be discarded, not only without loss, but with positive advantage. No guide but our own intelligence is better than a faithless guide. Something has already been done in the direction of the search for, and decipherment of, inscriptions by Europeans, though less systematically in Madras than in Calcutta and Bombay, but much remains to be done, and will always remain, till educated Natives enter upon this branch of study with the zeal with which so many people in Europe have devoted themselves to it.

Information from inscriptions and coins.

Facilities enjoyed by Natives.

Natives possess various facilities for this study which are denied to Europeans living in India. They have no reason to fear the sun. They can generally stop in their journeys without inconvenience and examine any antiquity they see; and whilst Europeans must be content with examining only the inscriptions on the outer walls of temples, inscriptions in the interior also can be examined by Natives. They will also be allowed to examine inscriptions on copper plates in the

possession of respectable Native families which would not readily be allowed to pass into the hands of Europeans.

Earliest Tamil works have disappeared.

A humbler, but still very important, branch of archæological work lies open to every educated Hindu in the Tamil districts in this Presidency. Let him set himself, before it is too late, to search out and discover the vernacular works that are commonly supposed to be lost The names only of many Tamil works of the earlier period survive, and many works must have been composed at a still earlier period of which even the names have been forgotten. Tamil literature seems to have known no youth. Like Minerva, the goddess of learning amongst the Greeks, it seems to have sprung, full-grown and fully armed, from the head of Jupiter. The explanation of this is that every work pertaining to, or illustrative of, the youth of the language appears to have perished. Probably, however, a careful search made by educated Natives in houses and *mathas* would be rewarded by some valuable discoveries."

THE DISTRICT OF TINNEVELLY NOT ORIGINALLY DISTINCT FROM THAT OF MADURA.

Tinnevelly originally a portion of Madura.

Another difficulty under which the early history of Tinnevelly labours is that in early times this district had no separate existence, but formed merely the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya country, and this was the position it occupied under the Chōḷas, the early Muhammadans, and the Nāyakas, as well as under the Pāṇḍyas themselves. It was not till the incorporation of the kingdom of Madura, including its various districts and dependencies into the territories under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot, about A.D. 1744, that the district of Tinnevelly came to be regarded, at first for revenue purposes alone, as independent of, or at least as distinct from, the District of Madura. The only name in classical Tamil which looks like a name for Tinnevelly, as distinct from Madura, is Ten-Pāṇḍi, the Southern Pāṇḍya country ; but this is represented as the name of one of the twelve districts in the Tamil country in which bad Tamil (Koḍun-Tamiḷ) is spoken ; and it is evident that it could not have been intended that the whole of Tinnevelly should be denoted by this name. The interpretation of some persons is that by Ten-Pāṇḍi is meant that portion of Tinnevelly which lies to the south of the Tāmraparni river. Others are of opinion that the term denotes only Nāṇji-nāḍu, the Tamil portion of South Travancore, lying to the south-west of Tinnevelly and the north-west of Cape Comorin. Tamil has always been the language of the whole of Tinnevelly, and Cape Comorin is represented in the Tamil classics as the southern boundary of the region in which Tamil is spoken. The boundary could not well be carried further south without being carried out to sea, but Tamil has always been spoken, as I know from inscriptions, in Nāṇji-nāḍu.

Meaning of Ten-Pāṇḍi.

Earliest Inhabitants of Tinnevelly.

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The hill tribes not representatives of the earliest inhabitants of Tinnevelly.

Nothing is known as yet of the earliest inhabitants of Tinnevelly, except that whoever they were they could not have been Áryans. The hill tribes called in Malayálam Malayarasas (hill kings), and in Tamil Kāṇikkāras (hereditary proprietors of land), are not, I think, to be regarded, like the Tudas of the Nīlagiris, as surviving representatives of the earliest inhabitants of the plains; but, like the hill tribes of the Pulneys, appear to be the descendants of some Hindūised low-country people of a later period, who were driven to the hills by oppression or who voluntarily migrated thither. Probably the earliest inhabitants came to be mixed up so completely with succeeding immigrants that it will be impossible now to distinguish them. Perhaps the best representatives at present of the earliest race of inhabitants are those long-oppressed tribes that are now considered the lowest, in the social scale, the Paṟaiyas and Paḷḷas. We meet occasionally with traditions of a more or less reliable character respecting the arrival of most other tribes from other parts of the country. There can be no doubt, for instance, of the fact that the Brahmans came from the north. There can be no doubt also about the arrival from the north of the Nāyakas and other Telugu castes. It is commonly supposed that the Veḷḷālas came from the Chōḷa country, the Maṟavas from the Ramnad country, and the Shanars from Ceylon. Such traditions, it is true, are too uncertain to be of much ethnological value, but it is a noticeable circumstance that there is no tradition whatever of the arrival in the country at any time of the Paḷḷas and Paṟaiyas. From the silence of tradition it may therefore, perhaps, be inferred that those tribes were already in the district when other bands of immigrants, represented by the other tribes or castes we now find, arrived. The names by which they are now called are not necessarily of the same antiquity as the tribes themselves. "Paṟaiya" means a drummer; "Paḷḷa" appears to mean a man who works in low-lying lands, and both these names connect them with a somewhat developed state of society. If they were really the oldest tribes that settled in the district, they must have subsisted mainly by the chase, like the rude tribe commonly called Vēḍas, and partly by the cultivation of dry grains. The cultivation of rice by means of irrigation would seem from etymological reasons to have been a specialty of the Veḷḷālas. Veḷ, the root of Veḷḷāla, seems to be identical with Veḷ, the root of Veḷḷam, water used for irrigation.

The lowest castes probably aboriginal

The Paṟaiyas and Paḷḷas.

The Veḷḷālas.

Stone implements.

The only traces of the earliest inhabitants of Tinnevelly that survive, so far as I am aware at present, are certain stone implements that have been found near Shērmādēvī (Cheran-mā-dēvī) and Puthugudi. They were taken to Berlin by Dr. Jägor. These

implements betokened some little progress in civilization, as the sides were rounded and the curves symmetrical. This would identify them with what has been called the 'neolithic age.' I am unable to regard the sepulchral urns or jars found almost everywhere in Tinnevelly as relics of the earliest period, notwithstanding the interest that attaches to them and the mystery which hangs over them. The excellence of the pottery and the circumstance that copper ornaments have sometimes been found in the urns show that the people who buried their dead in those urns, whoever they were, and at however early a period they may have lived, were a comparatively civilised race.[1]

Sepulchral urns.

Whatever relics of the oldest period still survive will be found, I think, like the stone implements referred to above, not in the valley of the Tāmraparṇī itself, which must have been too frequently covered with water and too marshy to allow of human habitations being erected upon it at the outset, but on the gravelly slopes on either side of the valley, constituting the primeval banks of the stream. One place of this description called Āditta-nallūr, near Puthuguḍi, has been found particularly rich in sepulchral urns, &c. I should not expect to find relics of the oldest period anywhere near the sea, as I consider it certain that the land has been slowly but steadily rising above the ancient sea level for ages, probably even before man made his appearance in the district. The rise of the land all through the historical period is capable, I think, of proof. Near Kulasēkharapaṭṭanam, a town and port of some antiquity, pieces of broken pottery are occasionally found imbedded in the grit stone, a marine formation abounding in sea shells of existing species, found all along the coast. I have a specimen in my possession found about a mile from the sea-shore, but I regard this as proving, not the immense antiquity of the pottery, which does not appear to differ in the least from the pottery now in use, but rather the comparatively recent origin of some portions of the grit stone.

THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ RIVER.

Attraction of the Tāmraparṇī.

If the history of the dawn of a higher civilisation in Tinnevelly could be brought to light, I have no doubt that the Tāmraparṇī, the great river of Tinnevelly, would be found to occupy the most prominent place in the picture. It must have been the facilities afforded by this stream for the cultivation of rice which attracted to its banks family after family of settlers from the north of a higher class than the rude, black aborigines. This river like the Kāvērī, but unlike most Indian streams, is fed by both monsoons—

[1] See Appendix.

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the south-western and the north-eastern—and is seen in full flood twice a year. It flows through a narrow but very rich alluvial valley, originally formed by itself, when natural forces appear to have been stronger than they are now, by the process of denudation, and then filled up by itself in later periods by the process of sedimentary deposition. It flows smoothly to the sea without torrents and along a bed which, instead of being hollowed deeper and deeper every year, and thus becoming less and less capable of being utilised for irrigation, gets silted up a little from year to year, so that at length in the lower half of its course, between Palamcotta and the sea, it has become necessary to confine it within artificial banks. Such a river would necessarily prove an attraction to settlers, if not from the very first, yet at least from the first appearance in the district of a people systematically practising agriculture and acquainted with the cultivation of rice by irrigation.

Description of the Tāmraparṇī.

ORIGIN OF THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ.—AGASTYA'S HILL.

The moun. tain Potigai.

The Tāmraparṇī rises on a noble conical mountain called Potigai, more commonly called Potiyam, or Potiya-mā-malai, the meaning of which is probably "a place of concealment," as will be explained below. Locally it is called Periya Potigai, the great Potigai, to distinguish it from a smaller mountain adjoining it called Aindu-talai Potigai, the Potigai with the five heads. This mountain is the highest in the Tinnevelly range of ghauts, being 6,800 feet in height, and is regarded by Native poets as the distinguishing mountain of the Pāṇḍyas, one of the titles of the Pāṇḍya king being 'lord of Potiyam.' This mountain stands back nearly ten miles from the rest of the mountains of the range, so that the Tāmraparṇī which takes its rise upon it drains a considerable extent of mountain country before it emerges into the plains. Potiyam is visible from Palamcotta, the capital of Tinnevelly, and is still more distinctly visible from Trevandrum, the capital of Travancore, on the western side of the range. It is usually called Agastyar's Hill, or by the English simply 'Agastier,' from the tradition that the great *rishi* Agastya, when he retired from the world after civilising the south, took up his abode in its inaccessible recesses. It was long supposed by all Natives to be inaccessible, on account of the force of the charms with which Agastya had fenced in his retreat, but Europeans have frequently found their way to the top, and some years ago, a meteorological observatory was erected near the top by Dr. Broun, the Astronomer of the Mahārājā of Travancore. The rainfall on the top of the mountain was found to amount to 300 inches in the year. The rainfall at Palamcotta, half way between the mountains and

'Agastier.'

Supposed to be inaccessible.

Rainfall on Agastya's hill and in the plains.

the sea, is less than 27 inches, whilst 25 inches is the general average in the Tinnevelly plains; and here we see the reason why it is that, though the plains of Tinnevelly are so parched and dry, through the excessive heat and excessive evaporation, and though the rainfall is so insignificant, the Tāmraparṇī rolls to the sea its full flood of fertilising waters twice every year, and twice every year enriches the beautiful valley through which it flows with abundant crops. In consequence of this Tinnevelly stands next to Tanjore—yet with a long interval—in regard to the amount of revenue its land assessment yields.

REFERENCES TO THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

Lassen's reference to the Tāmraparṇi.

Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (Vol. I) describes the Tāmraparṇī as "an inconsiderable stream, with a renowned name." Looking at the length of its course (only 70 miles from its rise to the sea, including windings), it may certainly be considered an inconsiderable stream, but it holds a high position amongst the Indian rivers in regard to the benefits it confers; and its name seems to have become famous in India from a very early period. It may worthily be called an "ancient river," by which I understand a river renowned in ancient song. It is mentioned amongst the rivers of India in the geographical sections of several of the Purānas, and seems to have been regarded in those times as a particularly sacred stream. It is represented as rising in the mountain Malaya, and this enables us to identify Malaya with the Southern Ghauts. The Sanskrit Malaya of course represents the Dravidian mala, a hill. The earliest and most noticeable reference to it in Sanskrit literature is in the Mahābhārata;—"Also I will remind thee, O son of Kunti (Yudhishtira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers), of the fame of the Tāmraparṇī, in the hermitage connected with which the gods, desirous of heaven, performed austerities."—Āraṇya Parva.

The Tamraparṇi in the Mahabharata.

In the Raghuvamsa.

There is an interesting, though probably much later, verse in the Raghu-vamsa, in which the Tāmraparṇī is mentioned. It says, "They (the Pāṇḍyas) having prostrated themselves before Raghu presented to him as their glory, the collected excellence of the pearls of the ocean into which the Tāmraparṇī flows," iv, 50. From this it appears that it was even then known that the Tāmraparṇī was in the country of the Pāṇḍyas, and that pearls were found near the place where the Tāmraparṇī fell into the ocean. The author of this poem, the celebrated Kālidāsa, is generally supposed to have lived in the century before the Christian era. Some make him several centuries later.

SACRED BATHING PLACES ON THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ.

Hindūs have still a great idea of the religious merit of bathing in this stream. Every portion of the stream is sacred; but

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bathing at the waterfalls in the upper part of its course is supposed in these times to be specially meritorious.

Falls of the Tāmraparṇi.

There are two of these waterfalls on the main stream, one called Vāṇatīrtham (from the name of an Asura called Vāṇa) on the slope of Potiyam, and another still more frequented, about 90 feet in height, at Pāpa-nāsakam (destruction of sin). The latter is commonly called Kalyāṇītīrtham, the sacred bathing place of Kalyāṇi (Pārvati), but by some Kalyāṇa-tīrtham, the wedding bathing place, that is, the place where Pārvati's marriage to Siva was exhibited to Agastya. This fall is at the place where the Tāmraparṇī leaves the mountains and enters the plains. There is another celebrated waterfall, not far from Vāṇa-tīrtham, called Pāmban-aruvi, the snake waterfall, so called on account of its long snake-like appearance when seen from a distance. It consists of two falls, the upper 500 feet in height, the lower 200 feet. This remarkable fall is not on the main stream, but on a tributary, which rises on the "five-headed Potigai."

FALLS OF COURTALLUM.

The Chittār.

The northern tributary to the Tāmraparṇī, which does not join it till near the sea, is called the Chitra-nadī, the beautiful river, vulgarly Chittār, the little river. The falls on this stream, at Courtallum, are much celebrated, and Europeans and Hindūs are equally fond of bathing in them, though for different reasons. It may be asserted without risk of exaggeration that Courtallum is the finest fresh-water bathing place in the world. Two forms of the name Courtallum are given in the Courtallum Sthala-purāṇa, one with tt, the other with RR=ttr. If the form of the word adopted be Kuttālam, the meaning will be "the wild Ātti tree" (*Bauhinia parviflora*), and the name will then signify the temple or village near the Kuttālam tree. This form of the word, Kuttālam, is said to be Sanskrit, but I can find no trace of it in any Sanskrit dictionary. If the form adopted be Kuttrālam, which is the one in common use, it will mean the ālam, destruction, literally poison, of Kuttru, sin, a meaning equivalent to that of the other great sacred bathing place along this range, viz., Pāvanāsam (properly Pāpanāśakam, annihilation of sin). Ālam is from the Sanskrit halā-hala or hāhala, "a deadly poison." This is the meaning generally attributed to the name of the place in the Sthala-purāna. This shape of the word Kuttru is not found in any dictionary, but one of the most common Tamil words for sin is Kuttram, which is substantially the same. The lowest of the three falls of Courtallum is commonly called by the Natives Vaḍa-aruvi, the northern fall. It consists of two falls, the united height of which is about 180 feet. The upper pool of this fall they call Pongumākaḍal, the boiling sea, the depth of which is 38

Meaning of the name of Kuttrālam.

Courtallum falls.

feet. The second fall is called Sembagāṭavi tīrtham, the sacred bathing place of the Sembaga forest. Sembaga is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Champaka (the *Michelia Champaka*). The third is called Tēnaruvi, the honey fall. A poetical name of Courtallum is Trikūḍam, which may best be rendered, the three plateaus or platforms. The spices cultivated at Courtallum were introduced by Mr. Casamajor in 1800.

MOUTH OF THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ.

The early Hindūs must have been acquainted with the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī long before they knew anything of its inland course or of the falls in the mountains, so that I conclude that it was near its mouth, and probably at the place where its junction with the sea took place, that people bathed and performed austerities, as the gods are represented to have done, in the time of the Mahābhārata. It would seem probable that there also, at Korkai, was formed the first settlement of civilised men in Tinnevelly, and that it was there that the name of Tāmraparṇī, by which the river became known, was first given to it.

The first settlement of civilised men in Tinnevelly. Where?

MEANING AND ORIGIN OF THE NAME TĀMRAPARṆĪ.

The meaning of the name Tāmraparṇī, considered in itself, is sufficiently clear, but its application in this connexion is far from being self-evident. Tāmra means red, parnī, from parna, a leaf, that which has leaves, that is, a tree. Tāmraparṇī might therefore be expected to mean a tree with red leaves, but this is a strange derivation for the name of a river, and the idea naturally suggests itself that some event or legend capable of explaining the name lies beyond. It is especially worthy of notice that this very name was the oldest name for Ceylon. It was called Tāmbapaṇṇi by the early Buddhists, three centuries before Christ, in king Asoka's inscription at Girnar, and when the Greeks first visited India in the time of Alexander the Great and began to inquire, with their usual zeal for knowledge, about India, the countries and peoples it contained, and the neighbouring countries, they ascertained the existence of a great adjacent island which they were told was called Taprobane—a mispronunciation of Tāmbapaṇṇī. Laṅkā, the beautiful island, is the name by which Ceylon is called in the Rāmāyana, and ordinarily in the Mahā-wanso. Simhalam, however, is the name by which it was called by the later Buddhistic writers, from which came in regular succession the forms Sihalam, Sīlam, Selen-dib, Serendib, Zeelan, Ceylan, and Ceylon. [Dib is the Arabic survival of the Sanskrit dvīpa, island.] From the form Sīlam comes the Tamil Īḻam. Simha means a lion, Simhala the lion country, that is, either the country of the lion-slayers or more probably the country of the lion-like men. Tāmbapaṇṇi, or Tāmraparṇī, as the name is more correctly

'The tree with red leaves.'

Taprobane.

Later names of Ceylon.

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written in Sanskrit, is said in the Mahā-wanso to have been the name of the first settlement formed by Vijaya and his followers in Lankā, from which the name came to be applied to the whole island—see Turnour's Mahā-wanso, p. 57. This settlement seems to have been near Putlam on the western coast of Ceylon, nearly opposite the mouth of the chief river in Tinnevelly; and it may be regarded as certain that the two names had a common origin, one being derived from the other, like Boston in the United States and Boston in England. The name of the river may have been derived from the name of the settlement; or *vice versâ*, the name of the settlement may have been derived from the name of the river. The only question is, which use of the word was the earlier? It may be supposed that a colony from the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevelly carried the name over with it to a settlement founded by it on the opposite coast of Ceylon. Or, on the other hand, after the Āryan adventurers under Vijaya settled in Ceylon, they may have formed a settlement on the Tinnevelly coast and given the chief river on the coast the name of the town from which they came. The general and natural course of migration would doubtless be from the mainland to the island; but there may occasionally have been reflex waves of migration even in the earliest times, as there certainly were later on, traces of which survive in the existence in Tinnevelly and the western coast of castes whose traditions, and even in some instances, whose names, connect them with Ceylon. The marriage relations into which Vijaya and his followers are said to have entered with the Pāṇḍyas would also make them acquainted with Korkai at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī, the oldest capital of the Pāṇḍyas, which must have been their capital at that time, and the river may thus have been indebted for its name to those Singhalese visitors. At all events it seems more natural that Tāmraparṇī, "the tree with the red leaves," should have been first the name of a tree, then of a town, then of a district, then of a river (it being not uncommon in India for villages to receive their names from remarkable trees), than that it should have been the name of a river at the outset. Lassen interprets Tāmraparṇī to mean "a tank with red lotuses," but this derivation seems to be quite unsupported. In Tamil poetical literature the first member of the compound is omitted and the river is called the Porunei, that is, the Parnī, alone. The English sometimes erroneously write and pronounce the name as Tāmrapoorney, but the error is derived from the old practice of writing the second part of the name Purni, instead of Parni.

Identity of the Tāmraparṇī of Tinnevelly with the oldest name of Ceylon.

Which application of the name was the earlier.

GREEK NAME FOR THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ.

The Greeks in the time of Ptolemy called the river by the name of the Solen. This is a remarkable circumstance, because they had

The Solen of the Greeks.

called Ceylon for several centuries by the name of Taprobane, and the name of the river being identical with this name of Ceylon, one would have expected that they would have called it also by the name of Taprobane. It might almost be supposed that Tāmraparṇī was not the name of the river in actual use when the Greek merchants arrived in Southern India, but this supposition is inconsistent with the use of the name in the Mahābhārata, for the bulk of the Mahābhārata is probably much more ancient than the commencement of Greek commercial relations with the South, which dates only from the Christian era, and there is no reason to suppose that the portion of the Mahābhārata in which the referrence to the river is contained could have been inserted at a later period for sectarian purposes. The connection in which the name stands in the geographical lists in the Purāṇas is also unsectarian. It seems therefore necessary to suppose that the river, though called the Solen by the Greeks, was even then called the Tāmraparṇī by the natives, or at least by the Brahmans. How is this to be explained? Lassen supposes that the old name of the principal stream was Sylaur, which also he supposes to be the present name of the tributary stream. No such name, however, as Sylaur is, or appears ever to have been, in use. This is evidently a mistake for Sytaur, the name by which I find that the river was called by English officials as late as 1810. The mistake is only of *t* for *l*. In our times the name is generally written Chittaur, and this stands for Sittār or Chittār, which means the little river. It is evident also that the tributary river could never have been the principal stream, because it drains a much smaller extent of hill country. "Solen" has a meaning in Greek, and may therefore have been intended to be a Greek word. One of its meanings is a shell fish, and for want of a better explanation it may perhaps be held that the river was called by this name by the Greeks on account of the chanks, then as now, found in great numbers near its mouth. The chank is the *Turbinella rapa*. Up to the present time the greater number of the chanks used in commerce are found in the sea adjacent to the mouth of this river, and every field in the neighbouring country bears witness, by the chanks found imbedded in the alluvium, to the fact that they abounded here at that early period also, when the delta was being formed. Chanks seem always to have been used throughout India as instruments of music (or rather as instruments of noise?) and in Northern India they are much used as a material for making ornaments. The Greeks spoke of the Solen as taking its rise on a mountain called Bettigo, and it seems conceivable that by this name they meant to represent "Potigai," the name of the mountain on which we have seen that the Tāmraparṇī rises. This enables us to identify the Bettigo of the Greeks, like the Malaya of the Purānas, the mountain on which the Tāmraparṇī rises, with the Southern Ghauts.

The Chittār.

The chanks near the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī.

The Bettigo of the Greeks.

The Chēras, Chōḷas, and Pāṇḍyas.

CHAPTER I.

Legendary origin of the three Tamil dynasties.

The Tamil people, or as they are called in Sanskrit, the Draviḍas, were divided in ancient times into three great divisions, the Chēras, Chōḷas, and Pāṇḍyas. The arrangement of the names is climactic, and denotes that the Pāṇḍyas were supposed in those times to have the preeminence, a supposition which appears to be in accordance with the facts of the case. According to Tamil legends Chēran, Chōḷan, and Pāṇḍyan were three brothers who at first lived and ruled in common at Korkai, near the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī. The lands held by all three in common were at Mukkāṇi (the three properties) near Korkai. Eventually a separation took place. Pāṇḍiyan remained at home. Chēran and Chōḷan went forth to seek their fortunes and founded kingdoms of their own to the north and west. We have a similar representation, perhaps merely an echo of the Tamil tradition, in the Hari-vaṁśa and several Purāṇas in which Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Kōla, and Chōḷa are represented as the four sons of Ākrīḍa, or of Dashyanta, the adopted son of Turvāsu, a prince of the Lunar line of Kshatriyas. Who the Kōla referred to here was is not clear. Was he supposed to be the ancestor of the Kōlas or Kōlarians of Central India? This is very improbable. Kōla is said to be identified by the Kerala Mahātmya with Kōlam, or Kōlattunāḍu, North Malabar. This derivation involves difficulties, but it is the only reasonable one I have met with.

The Pāṇḍyas.

Derivation of 'Pāṇḍya.'

The Sanskrit name Pāṇḍya is written in Tamil Pāṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Pāṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive Pāṇḍya, not from the Tamil and Malayâlam Pāṇḍu, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but from the Sanskrit Pāṇḍu, the name of the father of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. This very form Pāṇḍya, in the sense of a descendant of Pāṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Müller, by Kātyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini. It is evident that the kings of this race by their adoption of this name meant to claim kindred with the celebrated Pāṇḍava brothers, and the marriage of Arjuna with the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king seems to have been recorded, or invented, as an evidence of this relationship. The earliest indubitable reference to the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the records of Northern India is in one of Aśoka's inscriptions about B.C. 250.

Arjuna's intermarriage with the Pāṇḍyas.

Visit of Arjuna to Madura.

This marriage is supposed to be referred to in the Ādi-parva of the Mahā-bhārata. In the Sanskrit original, however, the king is not called a Pāṇḍya, but is merely mentioned by his name

as Chitravāhana, and his city is called, not Madura, but Maṇipūra. This city is placed in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary in the Kalinga country, not in or near the country of the Pāṇḍyas. The king's daughter's name is Chitrāngadā. Arjuna marries the damsel and remains in Maṇipūra, according to his pledge, till a son is born, who is called Babhruvāhana. The Tamil prose translation of the Mahābhārata boldly identifies Maṇipūra with Madura, calls Chitravāhana a Pāṇḍya king, and also identifies him with Malayadhvaja, the second king in the Madura lists of Pāṇḍyas. This identification might be concluded to be a wholly unwarranted invention of the Tamil translator were it not for an incident related in the South Indian edition of the Sanskrit text of the Mahā-bhārata. It is therein stated (in the Sabhā-parva) that Sahā-dēva, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, in the course of his *dig-vijaya* tour, visited Maṇipūra and greeted his sister-in-law Chitrāngadā, Arjuna's wife. In this narrative Maṇipūra is described as the residence of the *Pāṇḍya* king, and Sahā-dēva receives from the Pāṇḍya king himself valuable presents. This statement vindicates the honesty of the Tamil translator, but unfortunately the doubt is only removed a step further back, for Professor Wilson states that this incident is not contained in the northern copies of the Mahā-bhārata. It was not in his own copy, and he had five copies in Benares examined, in none of which was the incident mentioned. This seems fatal to the identification. He mentions also that in the Bhāgavata Purāna Arjuna's bride is represented as the daughter, not of the Pāṇḍya king, but of the serpent king of Maṇipūra.

OLDEST PĀṆḌYA TITLES.

The Pāṇḍya dynasty may have existed before this relationship with the Pāṇḍava brothers was thought of, for Māran, not Pāṇḍiyan, appears to have been the most ancient name of the head of the dynasty. In the titles given to the Pāṇḍya king in old inscriptions I have always found "the Māran" stand at the head of the list, and I found a portion of Korkai itself called, not Pāṇḍya-Mangalam, but Māra-Mangalam, "the good fortune of the Māran." The names seem to have gone in pairs, Māra and Korkai, Pāṇḍya and Madura. Korkai-āḷi, ruler of Korkai, is a title given to Kulasēkhara, the supposed founder of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, by the author of the Vettri-vērkai, himself a Pāṇḍya king. The Māran.

INTERCOURSE OF THE EARLY SINGHALESE WITH THE PĀṆḌYAS.

Korkai, at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī, must have been the residence of the Pāṇḍyas at that early period, six centuries before

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Christ, when the king of Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon) is said to have sent over ambassadors to negotiate an alliance by marriage with the Pāṇḍyas. "The Southern Madhurā" is the place where the Pāṇḍyas are said to have lived and reigned at that time, but this may have been an anachronism, the very existence of Korkai having most probably at the date of the composition of the Mahā-wanso been forgotten. The particular Pāṇḍya king who then reigned is not mentioned, and the name as written in the Pāli of the Mahā-wanso differs slightly from the form current in India. He is called sometimes Pāṇḍawo, which is evidently meant for Pāṇḍava, and Pāṇḍu, which stands either for Pāṇḍu, the father of the Pāṇḍavas, or for Pāṇḍi, the common Tamil form of Pāṇḍya. According to the story Vijaya married first a Yaksha, or demon-princess (a princess of the aboriginal Vēḍas?), but afterwards sent over to the continent for a human bride, in order that he might get himself duly inaugurated as a sovereign. The Pāṇḍya king gave him his daughter, as requested, and she was accompanied to Ceylon by a great retinue of maidens, who were given in marriage to Vijaya's companions. Vijaya, according to the story, had no son of his own, but he appointed a son of his brother to be his successor. This prince is called in Pāli Pāṇḍu-vāsa-dēva, by which we are probably to understand Pāṇḍu-vamśa-dēva, and though he is said to have come from Simhapura, the city in Northern India from which Vijaya himself came, we can scarcely err in concluding that he was really a prince of Pāṇḍya extraction. The fourth prince in the line was called Pāṇḍukābhaya, a name which evidently also betokens some connexion with the Pāṇḍyas. It is worthy of notice that it was by those two princes with Pāṇḍya names (princes from Tinnevelly?) that the three great reservoirs for which Ceylon is famous are said to have been made. May it hence be concluded that the idea of making reservoirs for irrigation was borrowed by the early Singhalese from the people of the Tinnevelly or Madura coast? Vijaya is said to have bestowed on his Pāṇḍya father-in-law annually two lakhs worth of chanks and pearls. Does this mean that at that time Ceylon was tributary to the Pāṇḍyas? This at least seems certain from these statements that it was the belief of the earliest Singhalese that the Pāṇḍya kingdom was in existence before the arrival in Ceylon of Vijaya and his colony of adventurers, that is, before the introduction into Ceylon of Āryan civilisation, which can hardly have been later than 550 B.C. This seems to carry up the era of the first introduction of Aryan civilisation into the Pāṇḍya country, probably at Korkai, to a very early period; shall we say about 700 B.C.? Ceylon was often invaded in early times by Tamilians (Damilos) from the mainland, but the invaders seem generally to have been, not Pāṇḍyas, but Chōḷas.

Vijaya's marriage.

Singhalese princes with Pāṇḍya names.

The great reservoirs of Ceylon.

Date of introduction of Aryan civilisation.

Tinnevelly in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The only place in Tinnevelly supposed to be mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa is Mahēndra. This is generally identified by Hindus with Mahēndragiri, the loftiest mountain in the extreme southern portion of the range of ghauts, south of Agastya's hill; but as the legend connected with it represents it as the place from which Hanumān, the monkey-god, jumped over into Ceylon, the attempt to identify it with geographical accuracy with any particular place in our maps is not likely to be successful.

Mahendra.

Greek Notices of the Pāṇḍyas.

Megasthenes, who was sent as an ambassador from Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander the Great's successors, to the court of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), king of the Prasii (Prāchyas or easterns) at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra), near the modern Patna, about B.C. 302, speaks of a country in India called Pandaia, after the name of the only daughter of 'the Indian Heracles,' that is, of Krishṇa. I have no doubt that the country his informants meant was that of the Pāṇḍyas. A writer who had heard of the Calingae and Andarae (the Kalingas and Andhras) could not but have heard also of the Pāṇḍyas. He partly, it is true, misapprehended the legends related to him, but he was right in deriving the name of the Pāṇḍya country from that of its rulers and in connecting their name in some fashion, however erroneously, with the cycle of Krishṇa myths. Every thing related respecting the country by Megasthenes, especially the statement that it was there that pearls were procured, serves to identify it with the Pāṇḍya country, and especially with the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya country, Tinnevelly, along the coast of which at that time were the chief stations of the pearl fishery.

Information collected by Megasthenes.

It may be interesting to give here in Megasthenes' own words, as quoted by Pliny, the strange mixture of truth and error he accepted and handed down.

"He" (the Indian Heracles) "had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for like his Theban namesake he married many wives), but had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaia, and the land in which she was born and with the sovereignty of which Heracles intrusted her was called after her name Pandaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4,000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Heracles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our

The Indian Heracles.

CHAPTER I.

Pearls.

markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea pearl, called in the Indian tongue (?) *margarita*. But Heracles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the seas into India that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter."

Translation from Schwanbeck's Megasthenes by J. W. McCrindle, Esq., Indian Antiquary for September 1877.[1]

The exact situation of the country of Pandaia and some particulars in its administration are given in another extract from Megasthenes handed down by another Greek writer: "Heracles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to the southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments."—*Indian Antiquary for December* 1877.

Pliny, following apparently another passage of Megasthenes, in his enumeration of Indian nations, mentions a nation called Pandae. We cannot doubt that the Pāṇḍyas, wherever he may have supposed them to be located, were the people referred to. His statement that the Pandae alone among Indian nations were ruled by women, though not correct, so far as is known, if supposed to relate to the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, may be regarded as sufficiently applicable to the peculiar social usages of the Malabar coast, where almost every inheritance still runs in the female line, and where, in Pliny's own time, at least, if not also in that of Megasthenes, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura had colonies.

Pliny expressly mentions that a portion of the western coast was in his time (A.D. 77) under the rule of king Pandion, "far away from his mediterranean emporium of Modoura;" yet he remarks that this name, with others in the same neighbourhood, was new to him. He evidently had no idea that the people of king Pandion were identical with the Pandae he had already described.

THE PĀṆḌYAS EMBASSY TO AUGUSTUS.

Porus or Pandion?

No information respecting the Pāṇḍya country in general or Tinnevelly in particular is supplied to us by the Greeks between

[1] Since then published separately.

the time of the successors of Alexander and the commencement of Greek commercial intercourse with India, in the early years of the Christian era, when we begin to be supplied with information of an interesting nature. I regard it as nearly certain that the Indian king who sent an embassy to the Emperor Augustus, was not Porus, but Pandion, the king of the Pāṇḍyas, called in Tamil "the Pāṇḍiyan." The earliest account of the embassy is given by Strabo (A.D. 20). The statement generally made by the Greek and Roman historians who refer to this embassy is that it was sent by the Indi, without further explanation as to who those Indians were. Strabo says "the embassy was from king Pandion; or according to others" (whose opinion apparently he did not endorse) "from king Porus." One of those "others" was Nicolaus Damascenus, quoted by Strabo, who says he saw the ambassadors himself. The name of Porus had been known in Europe for several centuries, through the historians of Alexander's Indian campaign, and it was natural that Greeks should fall into the mistake of supposing every Indian king a successor of Porus, whereas the name Pandion was one which up to that time had never been known and could not have been invented. This Indian embassy has a place in the Chronicon of Eusebius (320 A.D.), but neither in the ordinary (defective) Greek text of the Chronicon, nor in the Armenian version, is the name of the king from whom it proceeded mentioned. Fortunately, however, the name, as written by Eusebius, appears in the Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (A.D. 800), whose work has been used to restore or complete the Greek text of the Chronicon, and who says, under the head of the 185th olympiad, "Pandion, king of the Indians, sends an embassy to Augustus, desiring to become his friend and ally." This incident is an interesting proof of the advanced social and political position occupied by the Pāṇḍyas, probably in consequence of the foreign trade they carried on, viz., at Korkai, in connexion with the pearl fishery, and also on the Malabar coast. After the termination of the political relations that subsisted between the successors of Alexander and the princes of Northern India we thus find that the Pāṇḍyas were the only Indian princes who perceived the advantages of a European alliance.

INFORMATION ABOUT KORKAI FURNISHED BY THE GREEKS.

The Kolkhoi of the Greeks.

More is known about Korkai from the Greeks than from Native writings or traditions. It is mentioned by the author of the Periplūs Maris Erythraei, the circumnavigation of the Erythraean or Red Sea (by which we are to understand the whole Arabian Ocean from the mouth of the Red Sea to the Bay of Bengal), an intelligent Greek merchant who visited India probably about

Situation of Kolkhoi.

CHAPTER I. A.D. 80. It is mentioned also by Ptolemy the Geographer A.D. 130. By these it is called "Kolkhoi emporium." It is one of the very few places in India found in the ancient series of maps called from the name of their discoverer the Peutinger Tables. The date of these tables is unknown, but on examining the Asian segments, I came to the conclusion that the author could not have had any acquaintance with Ptolemy, and that therefore probably he lived at an earlier period. Some of the European segments seemed to me to belong to (or to have been brought down to) a later date. Both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy agree in representing Kolkhoi as the headquarters of the pearl fishery at that time and as included in the dominions of king Pandion. Ptolemy places it immediately to the north of the River Solen. It was the first port visited by the Greeks after rounding Cape Comorin and the first place on the Tinnevelly coast whose name was recorded by them. The Gulf of Manaar was called by them from the name of this place the Colkhic Gulf, from which it may be included that Kolkhoi was considered by them a place of much importance. It is called in the Peutinger Tables Colcis Indorum, the Colcis of the Indians, to distinguish it from the better known Colchis on the Black Sea. The Tamil name of the place is almost identical with the Greek. It is Kolkai, and though this is now euphonically pronounced Korkai, through the necessary change of *l* into *r* before *k*, yet it is still pronounced Kolkai on the western coast, and I have found it written Kolkai in an old Tamil inscription in the temple at Tiruchendūr. This place is now three or four miles inland, but there are abundant traces of its having stood at one time in the sea coast and of having at a previous period been under the sea. I have found the tradition that it was once the centre of the pearl trade and the principal seat of civil government in the south still surviving amongst people in the neighbourhood. Afer the sea had retired from Kolkhoi, in consequence of the gradual elevation of the line of coast, a new emporium arose between it and the sea, which acquired great celebrity during the middle ages. This was Kāyal, a place to which I shall presently refer. This identification of Kolchoi with Kolkai is one of much importance, because, being perfectly certain, it helps forward other identifications. Kol in Tamil means to slay, kai, hand or arm. Kolkai therefore would seem to mean the hand or arm of slaughter, which is said to be an old poetical name for an army, a camp, the first instrument of government in a rude age. Kai is capable also of meaning place, *e.g.*, Poti-kai, place of concealment, the name of the mountain from which the river of Korkai takes its rise. Compare the name Coleroon, properly Kollidam, the place of slaughter. It is worthy of notice that in so far as the two

Korkai.

Importance of this identification.

words included in the name of Kolkai are concerned, the Tamil language does not seem to have altered from that day to this. The junction of the words has been euphonised by Sandhi, but the words themselves remain the same.

The line of coast including South Tinnevelly and South Travancore was called Paralia, by the author of the Periplus. It commenced at what they called "the red cliffs" south of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin, but also Korkai. Paralia is the Greek word for coast; it does not appear to me to be the Greek mode of writing a native name, for Ptolemy mentions several Paralias. The coast mentioned by this name included Ptolemy's country of the Aii, South Travancore, and that of the Kareï, South Tinnevelly. The Kareï of the one writer inhabited the Paralia of the other. Karai in Tamil means a coast, from the verbal root karai, to be melted down, to be washed away, and is obviously identical in meaning with the Greek Paralia. It is worthy of notice that up to the present time several portions of the Tinnevelly coast are called Karaichuttru, the coast circuit, whilst a caste of fishermen farther north are called Karaiyār, coast people. This Tamil word for coast occurs in the names of several places mentioned by Ptolemy, though the places themselves have not been identified, *e.g.*, Peringkarai. If this name had been written Perung instead of Pering, it would have been identical, letter for letter, with the Tamil of the present time. The meaning would have been "great-shore."

CAPE COMORIN AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS.

Description of Cape Comorin in the Periplus.

Cape Comorin is not now in Tinnevelly, but in Travancore, but as it originally belonged to Tinnevelly, being the southern extremity of the Pāṇḍya country, and as it is so near the Tinnevelly boundary and is so celebrated a place, it seems desirable that I should mention here what is said about it by the Greeks. It is called Komaria Akron, Cape Komaria, by Ptolemy, and Komarei or simply Komar by the author of the Periplūs. The latter says, "After Bakarē occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed. From Komarei towards the

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south the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery. To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalon. In this single place are obtained the pearls collected near the island of Epiodōros."

When the writer says "it is related" that the goddess used to bathe there it seems to be implied that he had heard of the existence of some written statement to this effect. Probably however he only meant that a tradition to that effect was in existence and was believed. This monthly bathing in honour of the goddess Durgā, called also Kumārī, is still continued at Cape Comorin, but is not practised to the same extent as in former times.

Kumārī or Kumari in Indian literature.

The place has derived its name from the Sanskrit *Kumārī*, a virgin, one of the names of the goddess Durgā, the presiding divinity of the place, but the shape which this word has taken is, especially in *Komar*, distinctively Tamilian. In ordinary Tamil *Kumārī* becomes Kumari; and in the vulgar dialect of the people residing in the neighbourhood of the Cape a virgin is neither Kumārī nor Kumari, but Kumar, pronounced Komar. It is remarkable that this vulgar corruption of the Sanskrit is identical with the name given to the place by the author of the *Periplūs* . . . Through the continued encroachments of the sea, the harbour the Greek mariners found at Cape Comorin has completely disappeared; but a fresh water well remains in the centre of a rock, a little way out at sea.

Kumari in Tamil, Kumārī in Sanskrit, is regarded by Puranic writers as the name of a river, one of the seven great sacred rivers of India. The southern portion of the peninsula is called by the same name. It is said to be so called after the name of Kumārī, a daughter of Bharata, the first Emperor of India, who was made by her father queen of the south. The Pāṇḍya king is called Kumari(ś)-śērppan, lord of the Kumari shore, because to him the lands lying along the banks of the Kumari belonged. It might be supposed that by the Kumari river the Tāmraparṇī was meant, but this cannot have been the case, for the name Kumari is not included in the classical list of the names of this river. The Native tradition is to the effect that there was originally a river at Cape Comorin, a real river—a sacred river where people went to bathe,—but that this river has been swallowed up by the sea. This might perhaps have been believed, had it not been for the explicit statement contained in the Periplus. No Native tradition goes back so far or possesses anything like such weight as this statement of an intelligent Greek. It is evident, therefore, that in ancient times, as now, it was in the sea, not in a river, that people bathed.

Kumari not a river, but a place on the sea coast.

Besides this, the title given to the Pāṇḍya king witnesses against this idea, for sērppu denotes a coast of the sea, not the banks of a river. Kumari(s)-śērppan means therefore lord of the Kumari sea-coast. It is certain also, that the Kumārī in whose honor people bathed at Cape Comorin was not king Bharata's daughter, but the goddess Durgā, also called Kumārī, whose special name at Cape Comorin is Bhagavatī. This little episode about Cape Comorin shows how little reliance is to be placed on Native traditions, when not corroborated by information derived from independent sources.

PAUMBEN AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS.

Kory identified with Kōṭi.

It may not be out of place that I should mention what the Greeks said of Paumben, the island on which the celebrated temple of Rāmēśvaram stands, though that place like Cape Comorin lies beyond the boundary of Tinnevelly. Cape Comorin is in Travancore ; Paumben in the zemindari of Ramnad and district of Madura. Ptolemy describes a place called Kory as an island in the Argalic Gulf or Palk Strait. Elsewhere he describes it as a cape, and correctly, for it was both, if it is to be identified, as I have no doubt it is, with Paumben, a long narrow island terminating in a long spit of sand. The entire bay between Point Calymere and the island of Paumben is called poetically Rama's bow, and each end is called Dhanush kōṭi, the tip of the bow or simply kōṭi (in Tamil kōḍi) the tip, end, or corner. The most celebrated of these kōṭis was that at Rāmēśvaram, at the extremity of Paumben, and this word kōṭi would naturally take the shape, especially when pronounced by foreigners, of Kori. The ease with which this change might take place is shown by the circumstance that this very word kōṭi, as the name of a high number, is written and pronounced crore. It is remarkable that the Portuguese, without knowing anything of the Kory of the Greeks, called the same spit of land Cape Ramanacoru.

The Paumben channel.

The island of Paumben, "snake-like," takes its name from the channel through the "Adam's Bridge" reef, formerly tortuous, though now straight, by which ships pass from the Gulf of Manaar to Palk Strait or the Bay of Tondi. Rāmēśvaram, the name of the celebrated temple at the eastern extremity of the island, means Rama's Īśvara, Rama's Lord, that is Siva recognised and worshipped by Rama, according to the Saivas, as his lord. Īsvara at the end of a compound generally denotes Siva. A name identical with this in meaning is Rāma-nātha, Rama's Lord, the first part of Rāma-nātha-puram, the name of the capital of the Ramnad (Rāma-nātha) Zemindari, in which the island of Paumben is included. This recognition of Siva by Rama is supposed to have been made on Rama's return from Ceylon.

CHAPTER I.

Identity of Kolis and Kory.

In the various Greek and Roman geographical works prior to the time of Ptolemy, the name Kōlis occupies an important place. In Ptolemy Kolis disappears and Kory, a name previously unknown, comes up instead. I have little doubt that Kolis and Kory were identical, and that the place meant by both was the island cape of Paumben or Rāmēśvaram. This appears from the circumstance that it is stated by Pliny to be the promontory of India which was nearest Ceylon, between which and it there was only a shallow sea. As it was regarded also as the southernmost point of India, it might be supposed that Cape Comorin was meant, but in the times preceding Ptolemy Cape Comorin was not known to be a cape. Pomponious Mela described Kolis as an "angle," a meaning which corresponds to that of koṭi in the Indian languages. He supposed it to be the termination towards the east of the southern coast, which extended according to him thus far nearly due east from the Indus.

"THE PANDION" AND MADURA AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS.

Various cities called Madura.

I have already mentioned that the Pāṇḍyan king was called Pandion by the Greeks. They called the people also Pandiones. In this they were correct, for the people have always been called by the same name as the prince. He was the Pāṇḍi, and they the Pāṇḍis. Ptolemy's name for Madura is Modoura, described by him as 'Basileion Pandionis,' the royal city of Pandion. Pliny spells the name Modura. The Sanskrit mode of spelling this name is Mathurā. It is called the Southern Mathurā in Sanskrit, to distinguish it from the original Mathurā, Krishna's birth-place in the north-west, called Methora by the earlier Greeks, "the Modoura of the gods" by Ptolemy, and Muttra by the modern English. There is another place, of the same name, Matura in the south of Ceylon, and there is a small island called Madura, in the Eastern Archipelago, which received its name from Brahman immigrants from India.

DATE OF GREEK INTERCOURSE WITH SOUTHERN INDIA.

Greek trade with the Tinnevelly Coast.

The arrival in India of the Greek merchants from whom Ptolemy and others obtained their information appears to have been contemporaneous with the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. The earliest Roman coins found in India are those of the Emperor Augustus. A large number of Roman Imperial *aurei* (gold coins) were found some years ago on the Malabar coast; upwards of thirty types of which, commencing with the earlier coins of Augustus and including some of Nero, were described by me in a paper printed at Trevandrum in 1851 by the Mahārājā of Travancore, to whom the coins belonged. The

Phenician Trade.

Greek word for rice, 'oryza' dates from the time, whenever that was, when rice was first introduced into Europe, and it cannot be doubted that here we have the Tamil word '*arisi*,' rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which then, as now, rice was exported. Of all the places frequented by the Greeks the place from which rice was most likely to be exported to Europe was Kolkhoi, at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī. Prior to the time of the Greeks the trade with India was mainly in the hands of the Phenicians and Persians. The oldest Tamil word found in any written record in the world appears to be the word for peacock in the Hebrew text of the books of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of articles of merchandize brought from Ophir (about 1000 B.C.) in Solomon's ships, which formed a portion of the great mercantile fleet of the Phenicians. The old Tamil *tōkai* becomes in Hebrew *tūki*. The oldest Tamil word in Greek is the name for cinnamon learned by Ctesias (about 400 B.C.) from the Persians. This is karpion, the root portion of which, karpi, is no doubt identical with the Tamil-Malayalam karuppu, kārppu, or karuvā, the common name of cinnamon.

Courageous act of a Greek mariner.

I cannot quit the history of the mercantile intercourse of the Greeks with Southern India without mentioning a story illustrative of their courage and enterprise. From the time of the Phenicians onwards the voyage to Ophir had taken three years, in consequence of the vessels being always obliged in those days, when the mariner's compass was unknown, to hug the coast. The voyage from the mouth of the Red Sea to the western coast of India, though not so long as this, was still very long and tedious. At length a Grecian mariner called Hippalus, noticing how steadily the south-west monsoon blew for many months together in the same direction, committed himself to the wind, with a courage almost equal to that of Columbus, and arrived safely on the western coast, near the place he wished to reach. The rest of the seafaring Greeks gladly followed his example, and in commemoration of his exploit called the south-west monsoon the Hippalus.

Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The latest Greek who interested himself in Southern India was Cosmas Indicopleustes, who in A.D. 535, in his book entitled Christian Topography, mentions many interesting particulars regarding Ceylon and a few respecting the Malabar coast, or "Male, from which the pepper comes," but unfortunately says nothing respecting Tinnevelly or the eastern coast.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RULE OF THE PĀṆḌYAS TO THE PERIOD OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.

Boundaries of the Pāṇḍya Country.

Chapter II.

Geographical stanzas.

There are certain geographical stanzas current in Tamil which give the boundaries and extent of the three Tamil kingdoms—the Chēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya. These stanzas are regarded by the Tamil people as classical and authoritative. According to the stanza relating to the Pāṇḍya kingdom its boundaries were the river Veḷḷāru to the north, Kumari (Cape Comorin) to the south, the sea (that is the Gulf of Manaar and Palk Strait or the Bay of Tondi) to the east, and "the great highway" to the west. Of these boundaries the eastern, viz., the sea, calls for no remark. The river Veḷḷāru, which is represented in the Pāṇḍya stanza as the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍya country, is also represented in the Chōḷa stanza as the southern boundary of the Chōḷa country. The boundary line between two such restless, bellicose nations as the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas must have been continually shifting. We know indeed that at one time the whole of the Pāṇḍya country was incorporated into the Chōḷa country. On some auspicious occasion, however, when both parties, having become thoroughly exhausted by continuous wars, were perhaps cementing peace by a marriage, their representatives seem to have been able to agree in fixing on the Veḷḷāru as their common boundary, which settlement having been arrived at, the poets of both sides seem to have been commissioned to perpetuate the remembrance of the boundary in verse. The Veḷḷāru, adopted as their common boundary, is not the Veḷḷāru which falls into the sea near Porto Novo, for this would exclude the Chōḷas from Tanjore, the most valuable portion of their dominions. The Veḷḷāru, referred to rises in the hills near Marungāpuri in the Trichinopoly District, takes a south-easterly course through the Native state of Puducotta, and falls into the sea in Palk Strait, south of Point Calymere. This identification of the Veḷḷāru is confirmed by the circumstance that it was an old custom prevalent amongst the Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Chetties that their women should never be allowed to cross the Veḷḷāru, it being considered an act of bad omen for women to cross boundaries.

The northern boundary of the Pāṇḍya country.

According to this identification, Trichinopoly belonged to the Chōḷas, not to the Pāṇḍyas, which was doubtless the case in early times, Uraiyūr, near Trichinopoly (the Orthoura of Ptolemy), having been the ancient Chōḷa capital. It was during the Nāyaka period that Trichinopoly became a portion of the dominions of the kings of Madura. Trichinopoly, indeed, not Madura, was regarded by the later Nāyaks as their capital. The southern boundary of the Pāṇḍyas was Cape Comorin. The western boundary of the Pāṇḍyas, that is, the most westerly point their dominions reached at the time the stanza was written, is called Peruvaḷi, the great highway. In another stanza the same way is called Vaḷuti-kāl,[1] that is, "the Pāṇḍya king's way." This was the pass leading into Travancore through the hills near Courtallum. The particular pass referred to was the Achchan-kōvil pass. In later times this pass came to be less frequented, and the principal pass through those hills now is that at Āriyankāvu. According to this, the whole of Nānji-nāḍu, the district in South Travancore lying to the north-west of Cape Comorin, would fall within the Pāṇḍya boundary. The entrance to the Achchan-kōvil pass is further to the west even than the town called Travancore, the little town from which the kingdom of Travancore takes its name. The accuracy of this representation is confirmed by all the Nānji-nāḍu inscriptions.

The southern and western boundaries.

The Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas agreed as we have seen in adopting a common boundary. The Chēras and Pāṇḍyas do not seem to have been equally inclined to agree, for whilst the Pāṇḍyas represented the Achchan-kōvil pass as their western boundary, the Chēra stanza represents the eastern boundary of the Chēras to be, not the Achchan-kōvil pass, but Tenkāsi. This would make over to Travancore a considerable slice of the Tinnevelly Taluk of Tenkāsi, including Courtallum itself. It is quite possible that Tenkāsi may at some time or another have come into the possession of Travancore, but inscriptions prove that in the 15th and 16th centuries at least it belonged to the Pāṇḍyas. The adoption of Tenkāsi, instead of the Achchan-kōvil pass, as the most westerly point of the Pāṇḍya dominions, would save to Travancore the ancestral town of the dynasty, Travancore itself, but Nānji-nāḍu would remain a portion of the Pāṇḍya country as before. Another

Boundary between the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas.

The Shenkotta boundary.

[1] Vaḷuti is a poetical name for the Pāṇḍya king; kāl means a way. Achchan-kōvil is the temple of Achchan, that is, of Appan, father. The father referred to is Siva. It is worthy of notice that the use of Achchan for Appan is given by the classical Tamil grammars as an illustration of the Tamil of the Kuḍa-nāḍu, the western country, that is, Travancore. Āriyan-kāvu means Āryan's guard. Aryan, or Ārya, that is, Hari-hara-putra, the common Tamil equivalent of whose name is Aiyanār, is supposed to be guardian of boundaries. Kāvu is the Malayalam equivalent of the Tamil kāval, guard.

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Chēra stanza makes Shenkotta the western boundary of the Chēras. This is almost exactly in accordance with the present arrangement. The boundary between Tinnevelly and Travancore passes at present, I believe, through the town of Shenkotta. Formerly it lay a little to the eastward, so that the whole of the town belonged to Travancore. What is called the Taluk of Shenkotta, that is, the district between Shenkotta and the hills, appears to have belonged originally to the Pāṇḍyas, but has been a portion of Travancore for centuries. It was held for some time of the Nawab of Arcot by the Rājā of Travancore (see Appendix), but was finally incorporated with Travancore in 1809. Shenkotta lies about due south of the Achchan-kōvil pass, so that it would be equally suitable to be regarded as the most westerly point of the Pāṇḍya country.

The extent, that is, the area, of each of the three countries is represented in the various stanzas as follows: the Chēra country 800 miles; Chōḷa 240; Pāṇḍya 560.

PĀṆḌYA KINGS.

Names of the early Pāṇḍya kings unknown.

The existence of a Pāṇḍya kingdom and dynasty can be traced back, as we have seen, several centuries before the Christian era by means of the Asoka inscriptions and the notices contained in the Mahā-wanso, the Mahā-bhārata, and the writings of Megasthenes. The existence of the dynasty, however, is all that can be concluded with certainty from these notices; no name of any king has survived. We learn from the Greek geographers who wrote after the Christian era that the Pāṇḍya dynasty not only survived till their time, but rose to special importance amongst the Indian states, but still no name of any Pāṇḍya king appears. The next authentic reference to the Pāṇḍyas after the visit of the Greeks and before the composition of the Mahā-wanso, is that which is contained in the Brihat-samhitā, one of the astronomical, or rather astrological, works of Varāha-mihira, an Indian astronomer who lived in A.D. 404. (See Dr. Kern's Translation in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.) He mentions incidentally "the Pāṇḍya king," the river Tāmraparnī, and the chank and pearl fisheries. When the Dravidas are mentioned as distinct from the Chōḷas, as they sometimes are in the Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas, the Pāṇḍyas must be meant. I should be delighted to be able to supplement the deficiencies of the Greeks and the early Indian authorities by supplying a list of the Pāṇḍya kings from Pāṇḍyan sources, but I regret to say that I can place no confidence whatever in the lists of Pāṇḍya kings furnished by local poets and panegyrists. I should be happy to avail myself of any information respecting the Pāṇḍyas and their affairs coming from the outside, but I believe

Indian references to the Pāṇḍyas.

Lists of Pāṇḍya kings untrustworthy.

it is the greatest possible error to trust to home-made lists of kings, in the absence of reliable contemporary information from coins and inscriptions. Any person who is curious on the subject may consult Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāṇḍya and the Abstract of the Madura Sthala Purāṇa contained in Nelson's Madura Manual (Part II, p. 3), together with its lists of kings from Kulasēkhara, the supposed founder of the dynasty, to the last Pāṇḍya, Kubja or Sundara. A very cursory perusal of that composition will show that its contents are almost entirely mythical. There is a Tamil version of the Madura Purāṇa, called the Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇa, which is still fuller than the original of incredible marvels. This translation is said to have been made at the request of the poet-king Ati-vīra-rāma Pāṇḍya, and if so, this must have been some time towards the end of the 16th century A.D. I do not mean to assert that the names of all the kings in the Madura lists are to be regarded as purely inventions of later times. I mean only that until they have been verified by inscriptions, which has not yet been the case, they are of no conceivable historical value. For the present they must take rank, I fear, with the long roll of pre-Christian Caledonian kings, whose pictures ornament the walls in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh. It seems better, therefore, that I should leave those lists for the present unnoticed. One name only in those lists has hitherto, so far as I am aware, been authenticated by a coin; that is Samara Kolāhala (din of war, a title, rather than a name), which I found on a coin belonging to Sir Walter Elliot. The date, however, is unknown; this is a department of research in which very little has yet been done.

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Lists of the Madura Purāṇas.

The names of the two last Pāṇḍya kings belonging to the original line of Pāṇḍyas appear in an inscription, as I learn from Dr. Burnell, at Chillambaram (Chidambaram). These are Vikrama Pāṇḍya and his son Vīra Pāṇḍya. This Vīra Pāṇḍya was conquered by Rājēndra Chōḷa (called also Vīra Chōḷa and Kōpparakēsari Varmā). As we know that this event happened in 1064, we now know also that the two reigns of Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya preceded that date, and therefore that they preceded the Chōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍya country. Many Pāṇḍya kings seem to have borne this name of Vīra, but probably one of them was more famed than the rest, for we find the name given to various villages in the records, *e.g.*, Vīra-Pāṇḍya-paṭṭanam and Vīra-Pāṇḍya-puram. It will be seen also that there was a 'measuring rod of Vīra Pāṇḍya' used in subsequent reigns.

Two last names recorded.

The Chōḷa Occupation.

The occupation of the entire Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷas is not even alluded to in the Madura Purāṇa, nor is the name of any

Rājēndra Chōḷa.

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of the Chōḷa kings contained in the Madura lists. This could not have been owing to the Purāṇa having been composed and the lists completed before the Chōḷa occupation commenced, for the last king in the lists, Kubja or Sundara, reigned long after, probably 200 years after, the reign of the first Chōḷa who ruled over the Pāṇḍya kingdom, Rājēndra Chōḷa, who commenced to reign in A.D. 1064. It is uncertain whether Rājēndra Chōḷa gained the sovereignty of the Pāṇḍya country by conquest or by voluntary cession, but I think it could not have been by conquest, for in two inscriptions belonging to his reign which I found in an old temple near Cape Comorin, one dated in the fourth year of his reign, and the other in the fifth, a victory said to have been achieved by him over Āhava-Malla (a Jaina king of the Chālukya race) on the banks of the Tunga-bhadra, is recorded. I conclude, therefore, that if he had acquired his sovereignty over the Pāṇḍyas in a similar way by war and conquest, the fact would certainly have been mentioned. If some person living in the Chōḷa country had asserted that Rājēndra Chōḷa had annexed the Pāṇḍya country to his own territories, the assertion would have been of no value, for it is customary for every petty sovereign in India to be represented by his poets and panegyrists as having conquered all his neighbours. The value of the assertion, however, becomes widely different when we find it in inscriptions on temples in the conquered or annexed country itself, recorded by persons who must formerly have been subjects of the old dynasty, but who now set themselves to glorify the new.

Rājēndra Chōḷa's victory over Āhava-Malla.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the remembrance of the Chōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍya country has entirely disappeared from the minds of the people. I have never yet met with any Native who had even heard of it. Yet it is a fact respecting which there cannot be the smallest shade of doubt. The country is full of inscriptions testifying to it. Rājēndra Chōḷa has also been shown by inscriptions to have reigned over the Kalinga country, or Northern Circars, in succession to the eastern branch of the Chālukyas. I have found inscriptions in Rājēndra's reign in every part of Tinnevelly, and also as far as Kōttār in South Travancore, which was at that time considered a portion of the Pāṇḍya country. Generally he is called simply Rājēndra Chōḷā, but in one inscription the names of both dynasties are combined, in a manner very common in subsequent reigns, viz., Rājēndra Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyan. He is supposed to have reigned 49 years. One of my Tinnevelly inscriptions is in the 30th year of his reign.

Date of the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa.

Some traditions represent Kambar, the Tamil poet, as publishing his celebrated poetical version of the Rāmāyaṇa in this reign, others as publishing it in the reign of Rājēndra's successor

Kulōtunga Chōḷa. Possibly the work may have been commenced in the former reign and finished in the latter. Supposing it were possible to depend with certainty on either of the above-mentioned traditions, it would show that the memorial verse prefixed to Kambar's Rāmāyaṇa, and which represents it as having been published in A.D. 886, could not have been authentic, this date being too early by more than 250 years. Kambar is quoted by the Buddhist Grammarian Buddhamitra, who also appears to have lived in Rājēndra Chōḷa's time—if indeed Vīra Chōḷa, to whom the grammar was dedicated, and Rājēndra Chōḷa were one and the same person, as Dr. Burnell believed. Rājēndra Chōḷa's name is identified with that of Siva in an inscription at Kōttār in South Travancore. The temple is said to have been "erected by Kulōtunga Chōḷa, in Kōttār, the good town of the triple-crowned Chōḷa, to the great divinity Rājēndra Chōḷēśvara," that is, either to Rājēndra Chōḷa considered as identified with Siva, or rather probably to Siva as worshipped by Rājēndra Chōḷa.[1]

Temple to Rājēndra Chōḷa.

I found several records of gifts in this and other temples in the south dedicated to Rājēndra Chōḷa, one of which was by Sundara Pāṇḍya, a clear proof that, Sundara Pāṇḍya lived, not before Rājēndra Chōḷa, but after, and therefore that as Sundara Pāṇḍya's name is in the Madura list of kings, the names of Rājēndra Chōḷa and his Chōḷa successors ought to have been there also.

Kulōtunga Chōḷa.

Kulōtunga Chōḷa appears from Chālukya inscriptions to have succeeded Rājēndra in A.D. 1112. Dr. Burnell places the commencement of his reign in 1128. He also must have had a long reign, as I have an inscription of his dated in the 44th year of his reign. The Chōḷa or Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings that followed appear to have been Karikāla Chōḷa, Vīra Chōḷa, Vikrama Chōḷa. Each of these is in some inscriptions styled Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. I have found nothing which throws any light on their date, except that they were all posterior to Rājēndra Chōḷa and that they all lived before Sundara Pāṇḍya, the last king of the old Pāṇḍya line.

Karikāla Chōḷa.

Karikāla Chōḷa's name occupies an important place in Chōḷa traditions in connection with the life of Rāmānuja, the great Vaishnava teacher, but it is uncertain whether the Karikāla Chōḷa mentioned in Tinnevelly inscriptions is the same person or another person of the same name. Dr. Burnell places the Karikāla Chōḷa of Tanjore somewhere about 950 A.D. This would be too early for any successor of Kulōtunga Chōḷa, as the Karikāla of Tinnevelly seems to have been. It is also too early for the date of the Kari-

[1] Compare the Roman title, Divus Augustus, that is, Augustus regarded as deified after his death. A parallel case is that of Rāmēśwara or Rāmanātha, Siva as worshipped by Rama. I am acquainted with a temple in which Siva is called Pāṇḍyēśvara, that is, Siva as worshipped by the Pāṇḍyas.

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kāla Chōḷa by whom Rāmānuja was persecuted. Rāmānuja is said to have fled from Karikāla's persecutions to the Court of Biṭṭi Deva, the Ballāḷa king of Dwāra-samudra, whom he converted from the Jaina to the Vaishnava faith. The king on his conversion took the new name of Vishnu Varddhana, and this event has always been placed in the beginning of the 12th century. Rice in his Mysore inscriptions places it in A.D. 1117. This is one of the most important eras in South Indian history, as it gives us a date on which we can depend, and from which we can calculate backwards and forwards. For instance, as Kambar, the author of the Tamil poetical version of the Rāmāyana, refers to Rāmānuja by name in his Saḍagōpar Antādi, we learn that Kambar's date must have been subsequent to A.D. 1100, not A.D. 886, as a certain verse prefixed to the Tamil Rāmāyana states. There seems no room for a Karikāla Chōḷa in the Chōḷa country in the beginning of the 12th century. The ground seems preoccupied by Vīra or Rājēndra Chōḷa, Vikrama Chōḷa, and Kulōtunga Chōḷa, but there may have been a local prince of the name, an ardent Saiva, between Rājēndra's death and Kulōtunga's accession. Anyhow it is not a matter of much importance, for it is only tradition which gives the name of Rāmānuja's persecutor as Karikāla Chōḷa, whereas the date of Vishnu Varddhana's conversion rests on the evidence of inscriptions.

Rāmānuja's date.

Vishnu Varddhana's conversion.

There seems reason for placing at this period in this list of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings a king called Kulasēkhara Dēva, who may possibly be the Kalēs Dēwar, who, according to the Muhammadan historians, immediately preceded Sundara Pāṇḍya, and was indeed, according to them, his father. I have seen many of Kulasēkhara's inscriptions in Tinnevelly; there is one on the walls of the Tinnevelly Temple. There are also two in Sir Walter Elliot's collection, which were found at Tiruppūvaṇam in the Madura District, but in none is he styled either Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya, but always simply Kulasēkhara Dēva. It is uncertain whether there were two princes of the name or only one. One person of the name is represented by the Singhalese as having been conquered by them about A.D. 1173, another as having conquered them and carried away the sacred tooth-relic about A.D. 1310. The impression however is left on my mind that a confusion of dates has taken place in the Singhalese records, and that there was only one prince of this name, who must have been a great prince ruling over a wide extent of territory, seeing that Sir Walter Elliot found an inscription of his in the Chālukya country. If Kulasēkhara Dēva is to be placed in the list of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas, it will be necessary to give a still earlier place to a Vīra Pāṇḍya, one of the many princes who seem to have been called by that name. In an inscription of Kulasēkhara's mention is made of the use in the measurement of land of 'Vīra-Pāṇḍya's measuring rod.' This makes Vīra anterior to Kulasē-

Kulasēkhara Dēva.

Singhalese accounts.

khara, probably for a generation or two; but whether he was a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya or the last member of the old line of Pāṇḍyas preceding Rājēndra Chōḷa, is at present uncertain. CHAPTER II.

THE CHŌḶA-PĀṆḌYAS.

Dr. Burnell has kindly supplied me with the information he has collected in Tanjore respecting the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya dynasty. In most particulars it agrees with the information I have derived from Tinnevelly and Madura sources, and the discrepancies that exist may be accounted for by the supposition, which there is every reason for believing to be well founded, that the Pāṇḍyas of the old line, the Chōḷas, and the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍyas were rival dynasties, each of which, as occasion offered, was represented by its adherents to be supreme. Dr. Burnell's researches.

The name of most importance at this period is that of Rājēndra Chōḷa, and I am happy to find that Dr. Burnell's date coincides with mine. The name itself, it is true, appears in various shapes in his inscriptions as Vīra Chōḷa, Kulōtunga Chōḷa (the first), Rāja-rājēndra Chōḷa, Rājarāja Chōḷa, Narēndra Chōḷa, and Rāja-rājanarēndra Chōḷa. He is also said to be called Koppakēsari Varma. [For this read Kō(p)parakēsari Varmā. I regard Parakēsari as a title, 'lion of foreigners,' rather than a name. I find it given to many kings. Kō means king.] Dr. Burnell considers it proved by the inscriptions at Tanjore and at the Varāha Svāmi temple at Seven Pagodas that one person only was meant by all these titles, viz., the Rājēndra Chōḷa of tradition and of the Tinnevelly inscriptions, and that his reign extended, as I have represented it, for 49 years from 1064 to 1113.

He adds the following particulars respecting this prince, Vīra or Rājēndra Chōḷa :—

Vīra Chōḷa.

"His Abhisheka took place in 1079. He must have restored Tanjore, which, according to Al-Bīrūnī, was in ruins at the beginning of the 11th century. This fact confirms the earlier Chālukya boasts of conquest and was certainly owing to them. He seems to have been a great patron of Brahmans and of Saivism, but he must have been liberal to Buddhists, for Buddhamitra, the author of a Tamil Grammar, called his work Vīrachōliyam after him."

Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa.

The next name in the list is that of Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa. He is stated to have been Rājēndra Chōḷa's brother, and to have been established by him on the throne of Madura. If so he must have been more properly regent than king. Still, I find an undated inscription in Tinnevelly in the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa, who may have been this person, though I rather think he belonged to a later period. This Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa's real name was Gangaikkoṇḍa Chōḷa or Gangaikkoṇḍān, the latter form of which name survives as the name of a village—a station on the Tinnevelly

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line of rail. He took the name of Sundara Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa, according to an inscription in Karuvūr.

Dr. Burnell's succession of Chōḷas.

Dr. Burnell makes Vikrama Chōḷa Rājēndra Chōḷa's successor for fifteen years, and places next to him Kulōtunga Chōḷa II, the Kulōtunga Chōḷa whose name appears so often in Tinnevelly inscriptions. He makes him succeed Vikrama Chōḷa in 1128, which gives an interval of fifteen years between Rājēndra's death and Kulōtunga's succession. According to the Chālukya inscriptions, as we have seen, Rājēndra was immediately succeeded by Kulōtunga.

SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA.

Sources of information about Sundara Pāṇḍya.

We have more information supplied to us respecting Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva than any other of the sovereigns of Madura. We have not only the legendary accounts contained in two Purāṇas, the Sthala Purāṇa of Madura and the Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam (or Purāṇam of Siva's sacred disciples), but also accounts which profess to be historical contained in the Singhalese annals and in the Indian histories of the Muhammadan historians Wassaf, Rashiduddin, and Amir Khusru. We have also notices contained in the memoirs of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller. Notwithstanding this apparent wealth of information, the accounts we have received are inextricably confused. It might indeed be supposed (as it has been) that there were several Pāṇḍya kings of the name, but this theory does not seem to me to be in accordance with the facts. It seems to me that there could only have been one Sundara Pāṇḍya of sufficient eminence to have the place in history he has received and to be mentioned as a reigning sovereign in so many inscriptions, and that what we have got to do is to endeavour to extract from the various statements we have before us some particulars respecting him which may safely be accepted.

Sundara Pāṇḍya's zeal against the Jainas.

1. It would appear that he was originally a Saiva, that he then became a Jaina, and that he was finally reconverted to Saivism by the miracles performed by Gnāna-sambandha, a great Saiva teacher belonging to the Chōḷa country, who was invited to Madura by Sundara's wife, who was a Chōḷa princess. On this occasion he is said to have impaled eight thousand Jainas. Before his reconversion to Saivism he was said to have been a hunch-back, and hence called Kubja or Kūn, but on his reconversion he was straightened, and hence his name is said to have been changed to Sundara, the beautiful. I find, however, from inscriptions that he was called Sundara from the commencement of his reign. Probably Kubja or Kūn was merely a nick-name.

Sundara Pāṇḍya the last in the list.

2. He seems to have been the last sovereign of the old line of Pāṇḍya or Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings. His name stands last in every list; and even if all the other names, or most of them, had been

inventions, it is probable that the last name would be historical. This probability is converted into a certainty by the statements of the Muhammadan historians, who show that on Sundara's death the Madura kingdom fell into the hands of Muhammadans. In this particular all native traditions are in conformity with the Muhammadan statements. Even during Sundara's life it is evident that the Muhammadans had been rising to power. Rashiduddin writes, "Within the last few years (written towards 1300) Sender Bandi was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions and Malic-al-Taki-uddin, brother of Shaikh Jumaluddin, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Male Fatan, and Kail." Here, it will be seen we have Marco Polo's Sender Bandi Dewar and his brothers. "In the year 692 A.H. (A.D. 1293) the Dewar died and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jumaluddin, who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 700 bullock-loads of jewels," &c. The Persian historian Wassaf gives precisely the same account. There is a difference only as to Sundara's successor. According to Wassaf he was succeeded by his brother. This discrepancy is not serious, for both statements may in a measure be true, and the brother's accession may have been merely nominal, the minister being really ruler as before. We learn from an inscription in Nelson's "Madura Manual" that in A.D. 1573 Vīrappa Nāyaka confirmed a grant originally made by Kūn Pāṇḍi, that is, Sundara Pāṇḍya, to a mosque in Madura, from which it appears that Muhammadan influences must have been at work at Sundara's court. In those days the power of the Muhammadans was extending so rapidly on every hand that where it received an inch it would not be slow in taking an ell.

Muhammadan influences in Sundara's reign.

REASONS FOR SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA'S PATRONAGE OF MUHAMMADANS.

It would be interesting to know, however, what led to Sundara Pāṇḍya's falling so completely into Muhammadan hands that he made over to them the principal places in his kingdom even in his lifetime. A reason is mentioned by Wassaf, which would certainly be an adequate reason, if it could be accepted as historically true. The difficulty in accepting it arises from a discrepancy in point of dates, but this difficulty would be removed if we supposed Wassaf to have misapprehended his dates, whilst he was correct in regard to his main facts. His statements are very circumstantial and have about them an air of truth. According to him Kales Dēwar (probably Kulasēkhara Dēva) had two sons, the elder of whom, Sundar Pāṇḍi, was legitimate, the younger, Vīra Pāṇḍi, was illegitimate. As Vīra Pāṇḍi was remarkable for his

Sundara's war with his brother.

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shrewdness and courage his father nominated him as his successor, which so enraged Sundar that he killed his father and placed the crown upon his head. Upon this Vīra collected an army and gave battle to Sundar. At first Vīra was beaten and fell into the hands of the enemy; but at length he received assistance from Perumāḷ, the son of the daughter of Kulasēkhara, whereupon Sundar fled to Delhi, where he placed himself under the protection of Alauddin. Vīra Pāṇḍi thereupon, the historian says, became firmly established in the kingdom. The Singhalese annals give also some account of these affairs, and both accounts agree in leaving Vīra on the throne. Seeing, however, that Suṇḍara Pāndya's name is the last on the list of the genuine Pāṇḍya kings, and that he was immediately succeeded by the Muhammadans, I conclude that Sundara must have returned from Delhi with a force of Muhammadan allies sufficient to re-establish himself on the throne—and sufficient also to reduce his authority to a mere cipher. It would appear notwithstanding this that Vīra also continued to live and to reign, and even that he outlived Sundara, seeing that it is stated by Wassaf that on Sundara's death immense treasures "fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him," and also that "Malik-i-'azam Taki-uddīn continued prime minister as before, and in fact ruler of that kingdom." He was succeeded in that position by his son Surajuddin and his grandson Nizām-uddin.

Sundara's Muhammadan ministers.

Another Muhammadan account.

According to Amir Khusru, another Muhammadan historian, Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya were both kings of Ma'bar (the Coromandel Coast) when the invasion by Ala-ud-din's army took place. His account of the invasion is as follows: "Ala-uddin's army under his General Malik Naib or Malik Kafur left Delhi in November 1310, and reduced Dwāra-Samudra, the capital of the Ballāḷa kings. While on his march to Dwārasamudra, it is said that he arrived at a place called Bandrī where he stayed to make inquiries respecting the countries further on. Here he was informed that the two Rais of Ma'bar, the elder named Bīr Pāṇḍya and the younger Sundar Pāṇḍya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Bellāl Deo, the Rai of Dwāra-samudra, on hearing of this fact, had marched for the purpose of attacking their two empty cities and plundering the merchants, but that, on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he had returned to his own country. After the capture of Dwāra-samudra, it is stated that Malik Naib marched to Birdhūl, the capital of the elder of the two Rais—'the yellow-faced Bīr.' He took the city and destroyed all the temples there. From Birdhūl he advanced to Kham, and thence to Mathra (Madura), the dwelling place of the younger brother, Sundar

Malik Kafur's invasion.

Pāṇḍya. He found the city empty, as the Rai had fled with his Ranis, leaving two or three elephants behind him. These were captured and the temple in which they had been left burnt. Immediately after this Malik Kafur returned to Delhi."—Elliot's Muhammadan Historians.

When Malik Kafur's army appeared, the king of Ma'bar, according to Wassaf, hid himself in the jungles. According to Ferishta Malik Kafur conquered the whole country as far as Rāmēśvaram, where he built a mosque. No tradition, however, of his having done so survives amongst the Muhammadans of Rāmēśvaram, or Paumben.

Marco Polo's Sonder Bandi.

According to the Muhammadan historians we appear to have two rulers in Ma'bar within twenty years bearing the name of Sundara Pāṇḍya, and for this reason principally Colonel Yule was unable to accept my identification of the Sonder Bandi of Marco Polo with the Sundara Pāṇḍya of the inscriptions. In the second edition of my Dravidian Grammar I have gone fully into the whole subject again (see Introduction and Appendix), and think I have answered some of the objections that were put forward. It is clear from both the Muhammadan historians that at the close of the 13th century there reigned in Madura a Sundara Pāṇḍya who was Dēwar—that is, as they interpreted the title, lord paramount of Ma'bar, the Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa country. He was, it is true, one of four (or five) brothers who had acquired power in different directions, yet still he alone was called Dēwar, and is said to have been possessed of immense wealth. Marco Polo also, though he speaks of his brothers as "kings," yet speaks of Sonder alone as "a crowned king," and gives him distinctly the title of Bandi; so that it is evident that in some respects he was regarded as supreme. There is no trace in Sundara's inscriptions of his brothers, or of his power being in any degree shared by them, or of the position he and they held being one that they had "acquired," instead of being one that they had inherited; but these are particulars which would not be likely to make their appearance in inscriptions; and there is nothing in the inscriptions or traditions inconsistent with the supposition that he had brothers who had acquired power together with himself. All that is necessary to stipulate in order to bring the accounts into agreement is that in some sense he alone should be Pāṇḍi Dēvar, or lord paramount, so that his name only should appear in the inscriptions, and in this, as it seems to me, no particular difficulty can be involved. I finally arrive at the conclusion that, pending the discovery of a *dated* inscription in which Sundara Pāṇḍya is mentioned, I see no valid reason why we should hesitate to identify the Sundar of the Muhammadan historians both with Marco Polo's Sonder and with the Sundara or Kūn Pāṇḍya

Sundara's brothers.

Sundara's date still a *desideratum*.

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of the Saiva revival. Mr. Moore gives a summary of this discussion in his Trichinopoly Manual, and adds—

"I have obtained copies of a considerable number of inscriptions in the Trichinopoly District in which Sundara Pāṇḍya is mentioned. They show clearly that he ruled over this part of the country as well as Madura, but they throw no light on the vexed question as to the time at which he lived, as they are not dated."

MA'BAR.

Origin of the term Ma'bar.

Ma'bar means literally the passage. It was the name given by the early Arabian merchants to that portion of the Coromandel Coast which was nearest Ceylon, and from which it was easiest to pass over to the island from the continent. . It was afterwards taken to mean the whole coast from Quilon to Nellore, including both the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa kingdoms. Ma'bar is mentioned (Maparh) in the Chinese annals as one of the foreign kingdoms which sent tribute to the Emperor Kublai Khan in 1286, and Pauthier has given some very curious and interesting extracts from Chinese sources regarding the diplomatic intercourse with Ma'bar in 1280 and the following years. Among other points these mention the five brothers who were Sultans and an envoy Chamalating (Jumal-ud-din) who had been sent from Ma'bar to the Mongol Court.—Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, II, 273.

Settlement of Muhammadan Arabs on both coasts.

Muhammadan Arabs seem to have settled first on the Malabar Coast in the 9th century, and thence to have spread to the eastern coast and Ceylon. Their principal settlement on the eastern coast is Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam in Tinnevelly. Heathen Arabs, that is, the Sabæans of Southern Arabia, frequented the coasts of India long before, following the lead of the Greeks. The mixed race consisting of the descendants of those Arab merchants are called Mapillas on the western coast, Lebbies on the eastern. By the Tamil people they are generally styled Tulukkar (Turks) or Jonagar (Yavanas!). Their ordinary title is Maraikān or Marakān, a word which means steersman, implying that they were first known as sailors, which doubtless is correct. They have no acquaintance with Hindustani, but speak Tamil or Malayalam, the vernacular of the country in which they live. The Hindustani-speaking Muhammadans—Patans and others—came from Northern India and form a totally different class.

KĀYAL.

One of the most interesting events in the history of Tinnevelly during the middle ages was Marco Polo's visit to Kāyal, which took place in A.D. 1292. What and where was Kāyal?

I quote Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II, 307 :—

'Kail, now forgotten, was long a famous port on the coast of what is now the Tinnevelly District of the Madras Presidency. It is mentioned as a port of Ma'bar by our author's contemporary Rashid-ud-din, though the name has been perverted by careless transcription into *B'awal* and Kābal (see Elliot, I, pp. 69–72). It is also mistranscribed as Kābil in Quatremère's publication of Abdurrazzāk, who mentions it as 'a place situated opposite the island of Serendib, otherwise called Ceylon,' and as being the extremity of what he was led to regard as Malabar (p. 19). It is mentioned as Cahila, the site of the pearl-fishery, by Nicolo Conti (p. 7). The *Roteiro* of Vasco da Gama, in the report of what was learned on his first voyage, notes it as Caell, a state having a Mussulman king and a Christian (for which read Kafir) people. Here were many pearls. Giovannī Empoli notices it (Gael) also for the pearl-fishery, as do Varthema and Barbosa. From the latter we learn that it was still a considerable sea port, having rich Muhammadan merchants, and was visited by many ships from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal. In the time of the last writers it belonged to the king of Kaulam (Quilon) who generally resided at Kail.

Kāyal visited by Marco Polo.

Portuguese notice of Kāyal.

'The real site of this once celebrated port has, I believe, till now never been identified in any published work. I had, like others before me, supposed the still existing Kāyal-paṭṭaṇam to have been in all probability the place, and I am again indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell for conclusive and most interesting information on this subject. He writes:—

'"The Cail of Marco Polo, commonly called in the neighbourhood old Kāyal, and erroneously named Koil in the Ordnance Map of India, is situated near the Tāmraparnī river, about a mile and a half from its mouth. The Tamil word kāyal means 'a backwater, a lagoon opening into the sea,' and the map shows the existence of a large number of these kāyals or backwaters near the mouth of the river. Many of these kāyals have now dried up more or less completely, and in several of them salt pans have been established. The name of Kāyal was naturally given to a town erected on the margin of a kāyal; and this circumstance occasioned also the adoption of the name of Punnaikkāyal, as the name of a neighbouring place, and served to give currency to the name of Kāyal-paṭṭaṇam, assumed by Sōnagar-paṭṭaṇam, both those places being in the vicinity of kāyals."'

Meaning of Kāyal.

It was during a visit I paid to Korkai in 1861 that I identified it with the Kolkhoi of the Greeks, and the interest of this identification was heightened by the conclusion at which I arrived at the same time that an insignificant place called Old Kāyal, about half way between Korkai and the sea, was to be identified with the Cael of Marco Polo, the most important city and sea port on the eastern coast of India during the middle ages. It was not however till nearly ten years afterwards, when Colonel Yule was preparing his edition of Marco Polo, that these identifications were made known to him and through him were made public.

Korkai and Kāyal.

CHAPTER II. Both places are situated on the delta of the Tāmraparṇī, Korkai within five, Kāyal within two, miles of the sea; but each was originally on the sea coast. It seemed remarkable that the sites of two such famous places should thus have been discovered in the same neighbourhood, but a glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason why each had been abandoned in turn. As the silt accumulated in the sea near the mouth of the river, or as the line of coast rose, or from both causes, Korkai was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of a sea-borne trade, and Kāyal, meaning "a lagoon" rose in its stead on the sea shore and attained probably to still greater dimensions. Kāyal has now shrunk into a petty village, inhabited partly by Muhammadans, partly by Roman Catholic fishermen, with a still smaller hamlet adjoining inhabited by Brahmans and Veḷḷāḷas.

The following is Marco Polo's notice of Kāyal—Colonel Yule II, 305, "Concerning the City of Cail:"—

Marco Polo's notice of Kāyal.

'Cail is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar (Īshwara?), the eldest of the five brother-kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormus (Hormuz), and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf), and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail. The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favor to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city. The king has some 300 wives, for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of.' * * *

Trade of Kāyal.

Kāyal having been the principal port in Ma'bar, much of what Marco Polo says about Ma'bar, its trade, &c., really applies to Kāyal. The king of Kāyal was not an independent prince, but the deputy (and brother) of the real king of the whole of Ma'bar at that time, Sundara Pāṇḍya Deva, who is called by Marco Polo 'Sonder Bandi Davar,' and who ruled over both the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa countries. I have found inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya at a place called Māra-Mangalam, just outside Kāyal. Polo continues:—

Horse trade at Kāyal.

'Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses. You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar (Dhafār on the Yemen Coast), and Soer (Suhār in Oman) and Aden collect a great number of horses, and these they bring to the territories of this king and of his four brothers. For a horse will fetch among them 500 saggi of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver (that is about 2,200 rupees!), and vast numbers are sold there every year. Indeed this king wants to buy more than 2,000 horses every year, and so do his four brothers who are kings likewise. The reason why they want so many horses every

year is that by the end of the year there shall not be one hundred of them remaining, for they all die off. And this arises from mismanagement, for those people do not know in the least how to treat a horse; and besides they have no farriers. The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains. They bring these horses by sea aboard ship.'—Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II, 285.

Use of the horse by Indian soldiers.

'Rashiduddin and Wassaf have identical statements about the horse-trade, and so similar to Polo's in this chapter that one almost suspects that he must have been their authority. Wassaf says: 'it was a matter of agreement that Malik-ul-Islām Jamāluddin and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed' . . . . It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Kātif, Lahsā, Bahrein, Hurmuz, and Kalhātū. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers that in the reign of Atābek Abu Bakr (of Fars) 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambāyat, and other ports in their neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars . . . . They bind them for 40 days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons . . . . In a short time the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing . . . . There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually.'—(Elliot, III, 34).

'The price mentioned by Polo appears to be intended for 500 dinars, which in the then existing relations of the precious metals in Asia would be worth just about 100 marks of silver. Wassaf's price, 220 dinars of red gold, seems very inconsistent with this, but is not so materially, for it would appear that the *dinar of red gold* (so called) was worth *two dinars*.'

Wassaf's account.

Wassaf, the Persian historian, a contemporary of Marco Polo, thus describes Ma'bar, that is, as I believe, Kāyal, the port of Ma'bar:—

'The curiosities of Chīn and Māchīn (*i.e.*, Northern and Southern China), and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships which they call *junks*, sailing like mountains with the wings of the wind on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurāsān as far as Rūm and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.'—Marco Polo, II, 269.

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Marco Polo's arrival in India.

The following is Marco Polo's description of the pearl fishery. The term Ma'bar, as used at that time both by Polo and by the Arabs, included, as we have seen, the greater part of the Coromandel Coast; but when the pearl fishery of Ma'bar is referred to we are to understand, I think, mainly the southern portion of Ma'bar, from Rāmēśvaram to Cape Comorin, constituting the eastern coast of the Gulf of Manaar, the fishery carried on on the Ramnad coast being of less importance. The port mentioned, but not named, by Polo must have been near, if not identical with, Kīḷakarai; or it may have been a place called Periya Paṭṭaṇam, the great city, a place now some miles inland, the greatness of which has entirely passed away. [Was this the place which Ibn Batuta called Fattan, that is, *the* Paṭṭaṇam ?]. Marco writes :—

Pearl fishery described.

'When you leave the island of Seilan and sail westward about 60 miles, you come to the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater; it is the best of all the Indies and is on the mainland. You must know that in this province there are five kings, who are own brothers. I will tell you about each in turn. The province is the finest and noblest in the world. At this end of the province reigns one of those five royal brothers, who is a crowned king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Davar. In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls; and I will tell you how they are got. You must know that the sea here forms a gulf between the island of Seilan and the mainland. And all round this gulf the water has a depth of no more than 10 or 12 fathoms, and in some places no more than two fathoms. The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called Bettelar, and (then) go 60 miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the king, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes to prevent them from injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one-twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are termed *Abraiaman* (Brahmans?); and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. These Abraiamans know also how to charm beasts and birds and every living thing. When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive to the bottom, which may be at a depth of from 4 to 12 fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls

Divers.

and these they put into a net bag tied round the waist, and mount up to the surface with them, and then dive anew. When they can't hold their breath any longer they come up again, and after a little down they go once more, and so they go on all day. The shells are

in fashion like oysters or sea-hoods. And in these shells are found pearls, great and small, of every kind, sticking in the flesh of the shell-fish. In this manner pearls are fished in great quantities, for thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the king of that state hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls. As soon as the middle of May is past no more of those pearl-shells are found there. It is true, however, that a long way from that spot, some 300 miles distant, they are also found; but that is in September and the first half of October.' CHAPTER II. Profits to the king.

We must now return to Marco Polo's Kāyal. Unlikely as the place may now seem to be identical with the "great and noble city" described by Polo, its identity is established by the relics of its ancient greatness which are still discoverable. For two or three miles north of the present village of Kāyal and a mile and a half inland, as far indeed as Māra-mangalam, the whole plain is covered with broken tiles and remnants of pottery—evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo's statement regarding Kāyal and its trade and of the identity of Kāyal with the sea port of Ma'bar mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. According to those statements Kāyal was frequented by multitudes of vessels from the Arabian Coast and the Persian Gulf, and also by vessels from China—junks—in one of which Marco Polo himself arrived; and accordingly I picked up everywhere on the open plain broken pieces of Arabian pottery and of China porcelain of all shapes, colours, and qualities. I could easily, if I had chosen, have collected a cart load in a single day; but the pieces into which they had been broken by the plough and the feet of bullocks were so small that they could not be put together so as to assume the shape of a vessel. I set a band of excavators at work one day in digging up a portion of the plain at hazard. At a depth of three feet beneath the present surface they came on the chunamed floor of a house, but found nothing of importance. The extent of the site of Kāyal was so great that it would take a month, instead of a single day merely, to explore it properly. The people of Kāyal, Korkai, and the neighbourhood have forgotten the existence of any trade between Kāyal and China, though the broken pieces of China pottery which lie all about might have helped them to keep the fact in their remembrance. I found, however, that they retained a distinct tradition of the trade of Kāyal with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, probably because that trade survived to comparatively recent times. They had also a tradition of European merchants, doubtless Portuguese, having lived in the place before its final abandonment as a sea port. I have already mentioned that care must be taken not to identify Marco Polo's Kāyal with Kāvalpaṭṭaṇam, another town on the coast, a modern place, but now very large, containing about 7,000 Relics of Kāyal. Remains of Chinese and Arabian earthenware. Kāvalpaṭṭaṇam a different place.

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Muhammadans. There is another small port in the same neighbourhood a little to the north of Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam called "Pinnacael" in the maps, properly Punnai-k-kāyal, but this also is a place of comparatively recent origin, and many of the inhabitants, as of Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam, state that their ancestors came originally from Kāyal, subsequently to the arrival of the Portuguese.

THE MUHAMMADAN INTERREGNUM.

The Muhammadans gain the upper hand for a time.

Ibn Batuta, a Muhammadan servant of the Emperors of Delhi, visited Ma'bar in 1348-49 on his way to Quilon for the purpose of embarking there, on his master's business, in one of the Chinese junks which then visited that port annually. He found the whole of Ma'bar, including both the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa countries, under the government of Muhammadan kings. This subjection of the country to the Muhammadans had lasted since Kafur's invasion in 1311. The country had been governed for the Emperors of Delhi by governors deputed by them for twenty or thirty years. At length one of those governors, Jelal-ud-dīn Hasan, a Sherif or Seiad, revolted against Muhammad Toghlak and made himself independent. This circumstance is mentioned by Ferishta. The power of the Muhammadans, however, does not seem to have been very firmly established, for Ibn Batuta found that there had already been several internal revolts, and on landing in Ma'bar he found the reigning sultan at war with "the heathen," that is probably with some surviving representatives of, or sympathisers with, the expelled Pāṇḍya princes. Possibly, however, the sultan's foes may have been the Maravas of Ramnad, for as Ibn Batuta was wrecked, on his voyage across the Gulf of Manaar from Ceylon, in the shallow part of the sea, the place where he landed and near which he found the sultan must have been in the Ramnad country, the country of the Maravas, a warlike race not likely to remain long in quiet subjection to petty Muhammadan princes. This Muhammadan interregnum is mentioned in Taylor's Historical Manuscripts. It is therein said to have lasted from 1323 to 1370, viz., for 47 years. Probably this was meant to represent the period of the independent Muhammadan government. It is also said therein that the name of the Pāṇḍya king conquered and sent to Delhi by the Muhammadans was Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Ibn Batuta says that the sultan of Ma'bar reigned at Maturah (Madura). The king's palace was there. He says it was a large city and not unlike Delhi.

Ibn Batuta.

THE KINGDOMS OF DWĀRA-SAMUDRA AND VIJAYA-NAGARA.

Paramount powers.

From the commencement of the decay of the power of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas in the 12th century, the kingdoms of Dwāra-

samudra and Vijaya-nagara occupied the position of paramount powers in Southern India. It seems desirable, therefore, that I should mention such particulars respecting those kingdoms as seem necessary for a right apprehension of the mediæval history of Madura and Tinnevelly.

DWĀRA-SAMUDRA.

I have not met with the name of Dwāra-samudra in any Tamil inscription or composition, but it is well known that the strong Telugu dynasty of Vijaya-nagara was preceded by a strong Canarese dynasty. This is sometimes popularly called a Mysore dynasty, but the name of Mysore belongs to a much later period. It is properly, and still more commonly, called a Kannaḍa, that is, a Canarese dynasty, the English word "Canarese" being intended to represent that which pertains to Kannaḍa or Canara, an abbreviation of Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka.[1] The later name is identical with our term Carnatic, but it denoted originally, not the country below the ghauts, as it does now, but the great tableland above the ghauts, including Mysore. The capital of this Canarese dynasty was Dwāra-samudra, a place about the centre of the Mysore country, and about 105 miles north-west of Seringapatam. Dvāra-samudra is written in all the inscriptions of the Mysore country Dora-samudra. Dora for dvāra, however, is merely a local dialectic change. The modern name of the place is Haḷebīḍu, or Haḷeyabīḍu, the old abode.[2] The kings of the Dvāra-samudra dynasty were called the Hoysalas, or more commonly the Ballāḷas, from bala, prowess, and are known to have exercised for a time some sort of paramount power over the Pāṇḍya, Choḷa, and other ancient kingdoms of the south.

Kings of Dvāra-samudra.

The first king of this dynasty who acquired sovereignty over an extensive range of districts was Biṭṭi Dēva, converted by Rāmānujāchārya from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith, and known after his conversion as Vishnu Varddhana. His conversion dated probably from 1117. Rāmānuja had fled from the persecution of Karikāla Chola, an ardent Saiva. Vishnu Varddhana became ere long the most powerful monarch of his time in Southern India, and he is expressly stated to have subdued the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Kēralas. This statement would not perhaps go for much were it not for the traces of the supremacy of this Kannaḍa power which made themselves manifest from about this time in the south,

Rāmānuja's flight to Dvāra-samudra.

[1] Karnāṭaka probably meant originally the black country, that is, the black cotton-soil country.

[2] The sculpture of the old temple at Haḷebiḍu receives from Ferguson the highest praise.

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as is evident especially from the statements of the Muhammadan historians.

Defeat of the Ballāḷa king.

The Muhammadans appeared in the Dekhan in 1295, when Ala-ud-din took Devagiri. The Ballāḷa dominions were invaded by a Muhammadan army under Hazardinari, commonly called Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din, the second king of the house of Khilji or second Pathan dynasty. A great battle was fought in 1311 in which the Ballāḷa king was defeated and taken prisoner. Dvāra-samudra was sacked and the enemy returned to Delhi literally laden with gold. Kafur was sent to conquer the whole of the south of India, and the capture of Dvāra-samudra, at that time considered the capital of the south, was the principal object of his ambition. After the taking of Dvāra-samudra Kafur descended upon Ma'bar, which he regarded, and which was regarded by Ferishta, the Muhammadan historian, as a feudatory dependency of the Dvāra-samudra kingdom. General Wilks could not make out what place was meant by Ma'bar, but it is now well known to have meant the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, or, speaking generally, the Coromandel Coast. Another expedition sent by Muhammad III of the house of Toghlak in 1326 completely demolished the city of Dvāra-samudra. The Ballāḷa kings, however, were not totally annihilated. They removed their seat of government to a place called Tonnur, about nine miles north of Seringapatam. Even after the rise of the Vijayanagara dynasty (in 1336), the Ballāḷas were permitted to exercise some sort of authority up to the year 1387.

End of the Ballāḷa dynasty.

Thus ended the rule of this powerful line, consisting of nine chief princes, and thence called the Nava Ballāḷa; which from a very small beginning had, by the valour of its several members, subdued the whole of Karnāṭaka up to the Krishṇa, with Tuluva on the west, Drāviḍa (the Tamil country, including especially the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas) on the east, and part of Telingana on the north-east.—Rice's Mysore Inscriptions.

Canarese traces in Tinnevelly.

Wherever we find in Tinnevelly traces of any important position having been occupied, or any important work having been done, by a Kannaḍi or Canarese man,—instances of which we have in the "Canaḍian anicut," that is the Kannaḍa man's anicut, and the person called Pālaiyan, a Canarese man, who is said to have built the oldest portion of the fort at Palamcottah—we have reason to conclude that they belonged to the period before the commencement of the rule of the Nāyakas in Madura, when paramount authority over the south was claimed by the Kannaḍa kings of Dvāra-samudra.

The following is a list of these kings, given in Rice's Mysore Inscriptions:—

Inscriptions.	—	Channa Basavana Kalajnana.	Kongu Desa Rajakal.
	Sala, Hoysala	984–1043	..
1039–1047	Vinayadita	1043–1073	–1068
1065	Yereyanga, Pereyanga, Vira Ganga ..	1073–1114	..
1117–1138	Bitti Deva, Vishnu Varddhana, Tribhuvana Malla	1114–1145	1099–1147
1142–1191	Vijaya Narasimha, Vira Narasimha ..	1145–1188	1147–1174
1191–1207	Vira Ballala	1188–1233	1174
1223	Vira Narasimha	1233–1249	–1237
1252	Soma, Vira Someśvara	1249–1268	1237–1283
1262–1287	Vira Narasimha	1268–1308	1283–1313
1310	Ballala Deva	..	..

VIJAYA-NAGARA.

Origin of Vijaya-nagara.

Vijaya-nagara arose when Dvāra-samudra fell. This city and state, the most famous and powerful of the states of Southern India, was founded in 1336 by two refugees from Warangal (Orukallu, a single stone), a place included in the Nizam's country, after its capture by the Muhammadans in 1323. Their names were said to have been Hakka, who assumed the name of Harihara, and Bukka, and they are said to have received valuable assistance from the sage Mādhava.[1] The capital was called both Vidyā-nagara and Vijaya-nagara. Rice considers Vidyā-nagara, the city of learning, the original form, and supposes this name to have been given to it in compliment to the sage Vidyāraṇya, who was chiefly instrumental in its foundation. By a natural transition Vidyā-nagara passed into Vijaya-nagara, the city of victory, the Bijanagar of the Muhammadan historians and the Bisnagar of the early Europeans. It is also commonly known as Āneguṇḍi, a Canarese name—elephant pit—which is properly a village on the other side of the river. Vijaya-nagara was erected on the banks of the Pampa or Tunga-bhadra, in what is now the district of Bellary. The beauty of the ruins of this city, near Hampi, show what the grandeur of the capital of the Rāyas must have been in the days of its prosperity.

Names of Vijaya-nagara.

The succession and dates of the Vijaya-nagara kings as traditionally handed down are much confused. The following list, Mr. Rice says, is approximately correct, based on many inscriptions he has examined:—

[1] Mādhava is generally said to have been a brother of the still more celebrated Sāyana, and is sometimes regarded as one of the authors of the great commentary on the Vēdas. By others he is identified with Sayana and as such is said to have been surnamed Vidyāraṇya, the forest of learning.

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List of Vijaya-nagara kings.

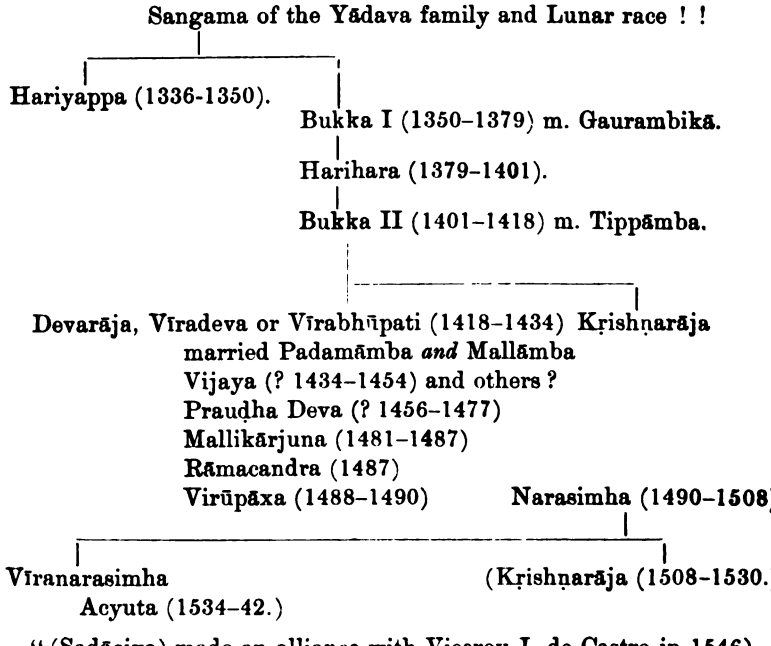
	A.D.
Harihara, Hakka, Hariyappa	1336–1350
Bukka, Vīra Bukkanna	1350–1379
Harihara	1379–1401
Deva Rāya, Vijaya Rāya, Vijaya Bukka.	1401–1451
Mallikārjuna, Vīra Mallanna, Prauḍha Deva.	1451–1465
Virupāksha	1465–1479
Narasa, Narasimha	1479–1487
Vīra Narasimha, Immaḍi Narasinga ..	1487–1508
Krishna Rāya	1508–1530
Achyuta Rāya	1530–1542
Sadasīva Rāya (Rāma Rāja, regent, usurps the throne till 1565)	1542–1573
Srī Ranga Rāya (Tirumala Rāja, brother of Rāma Rāja, 1566)	1574–1587
Vīra Venkatapati, &c.	1587

The following is Dr. Burnell's list of the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty. *See* Dravidian Palæography, p. 55.

Dr. Burnell's list of Vijayanagara kings.

"iv. The Rāyas of Vijayanagara; from about 1320 to 1565.

"The following is the list as I have been able to correct it from several sources (see my 'Vamcabrāhmaṇa,' p. xvi); the dates, however, are only approximate.



"(Sadāçiva) made an alliance with Viceroy J. de Castro in 1546).

"(This Sadāçiva succeeded as a child: thirty years was this kingdom governed by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping

the rightfull king in prison, it was their use every yeere once to show him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the government to themselves." (C. Frederick in : "Purchas His Pilgrimes," ii., p. 1704. *cfr.* canto, Dec. vii. 5, 5 ; f. 936).

Vīrappa Nāyak.

Rāmarāja (killed in 1565.)	Timma (Tirumala Bōmma). (Transferred the seat of government to Pennakoṇḍa in 1567. Purchas, ii., p. 1705.)	Bengatre (*Sic* in Purchas). He was killed in 1565. According to Conto, Decada vii., 2, 8, his name was Venkaṭarāya.
	Rangarāja (? 1572–1585.)	Venkatapati (? 1585–1614) at Chandragiri (Purchas, ii., 1746).

"Vīrarāma (?). This name occurs in inscriptions, but Venkaṭapati was the last of his race.

"The earlier kings of this dynasty had conquered all Southern India before the end of the 14th century ; but they left many of the original kings (*e.g.*, the last Pāṇḍyas) undisturbed for a time ; in the 16th century they had their deputies (called Nāyaks) at Madura (from about 1540). Tanjore and Gingee (Śinji). In the 17th century these Nāyaks acted as independent sovereigns ; the last Nāyak of Tanjore, Vīrarāghava (*e.g.*), granted Negapatam to the Dutch by a grant on a silver plate, now in the Museum at Batavia. These predatory chiefs and the rabble they brought with them are the 'Badagas' of whom the early Portuguese Missionaries complain so much. They did not reach the extreme south till about 1544." The Nāyakas.

It will be seen that there are many minor differences between these two lists. They both agree, however, respecting the date of the most distinguished member of the dynasty, Kṛishṇa Rāya. Each list is stated by its author to be only approximately correct. Differences between the two lists unimportant.

The Vijaya-nagara kings are always styled, not Rājās, but Rāyas, though the meaning is identical.[1] Rāya in Tamil is pluralised as Rāyar, in Telugu as Rāyalu, and the plural, as is usual in the Dravidian languages, is used honorifically for the singular. Canarese was the language of the Dvāra-samudra Spread of Telugu in the south.

[1] The Rāyas of Vijaya-nagara having long been the greatest paramount power in Southern India, Rayar is used in the Tamil New Testament as the equivalent of "Cæsar" with the meaning of emperor.

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dynasty, but the founders of Vijaya-nagara were Telugus and made Telugu the language of administration throughout their dominions. The district of country in which they established themselves, though not a portion of Mysore, was a portion of the Kannaḍa country or country in which Canarese was spoken. Right in the heart of this Canarese district a new Telugu dynasty set up a Telugu court, supported by a Telugu army, and sending forth Telugu colonies and expeditions into all parts of the south. This explains the position occupied by the Telugu lieutenants of Vijaya-nagara at Madura, and also in part the position occupied by Telugu Poligars and settlers throughout the Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly Districts. It was during the reign of Krishṇa Rāyar that Vijaya-nagara rose to its greatest importance. He reigned from 1508 to 1530. It is certain at least that his reign fell between these two dates. The state of Vijaya-nagara was the most powerful Hindu state that ever existed south of the Krishṇa, and Krishṇa Rāyar has the reputation of having been the ablest, most enlightened, and most successful of the rulers of that state. He is celebrated as having been a munificent patron of Telugu literature. About 1520 the Muhammadans sustained from him a severe defeat, in consequence of which they were kept in check for a considerable period. After his time the kingdom began to decline. Next to him perhaps in fame, but prior to him in point of time, we have to place Narasimha, or Vīra Narasimha, Rāyar, whose reign commenced in 1487, and who is said to have been the first king of this line who extended his conquests into the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. The forts of Chandragiri and Vēlūr are said to have been built by him. By some, however, they are said to have been built by his great successor Krishṇa Rāya. It was the rise of the strong Hindu kingdom of Vijaya-nagara which opposed the first barrier to the progress southward of the Muhammadan arms, and for nearly two centuries this barrier was found effectual. After a time the Vijaya-nagara kingdom ceased to keep the power of the Muhammadans in check.

Krishṇa Rāyar.

Conquests over the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas.

Arrival of the Portuguese in this reign.

It was in Narasimha Rāyar's reign that the Portuguese first arrived in India. They arrived at Calicut in 1498. As in 1311 the Muhammadans found, as we have seen, the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kings of Ma'bar, that is, the Coromandel Coast, feudatories of the Canarese king of Dvāra-samudra, so on the arrival of the Portuguese the only kingdom that seemed to them to have any real independent existence was that of Vijaya-nagara. They described the Coromandel Coast, which they called Choramandala, as the fifth province of the Rāyar's empire; and they regarded this province as extending from Quilon to Orissa, an extent greater than that of the Ma'bar of their Arab predecessors. One of the names by which the early Portuguese denoted the whole of

Southern India was the kingdom of Narsinga, doubtless from the name of the great Rāya they found on the throne. CHAPTER II.

Barbosa in 1516 says :—

Kingdom of Narsinga.

"Beyond this river commences the kingdom of Narsinga, which contains five very large provinces, with each a language of its own. The first which stretches along the coast to Malabar is called Tulinate (that is Tulu-nādu) or the modern province of South Canara; another lies in the interior. Another has the name of Telinga, which confines with the kingdom of Orissa. Another is Canari, in which is the great city of Bisnaga; and then the kingdom of Charamendel, the language of which is Tamul." Colonel Yule and Dr. Burnell, in *Indian Antiquary* for June 1879.

The writers state that the text of this notice has been put together from three versions of Barbosa. The Vijaya-nagara kingdom was sometimes called Karnāṭaka, the Carnatic, and sometimes by a corruption of this name, Canara.

Overthrow of Vijaya-nagara.

Whilst the Muhammadans were growing in power the Hindu states misspent their opportunities and wasted their strength in mutual wars. At length in 1564 Rāma Rāyar, the reigning king of Vijaya-nagara, whose arrogance had provoked the hostility of the Muhammadan powers to the north, was defeated and put to death by a combination of those princes. The great battle in which he fell was fought at Talikota, on the 25th of January 1565. Vijaya-nagara itself was at the same time ruthlessly destroyed. It is from this time I date the largest influx of Telugu settlers into the southern districts of the Tamil country. There are probably at least a million of people in the Tamil districts of Telugu origin, and I think it probable that the ancestors of a very large number of these fled for protection to the Telugu rulers of Madura and Tanjore to escape the oppression of the Muhammadans to which they had been exposed in their Telugu homes.

Origin of Eṭṭaiyāpuram Zemindar.

The account traditionally preserved in the family of the Zemindar of Eṭṭaiyāpuram in Tinnevelly may be taken as an illustration of the mode in which these emigrations generally originated and were carried on. The following is a summary of the statements contained in the native history of the family:—

On the defeat of Anna Dēva Rājā, king of Vijayanagaram, by Muhammad Alauddin, one Kumāramuttu Eṭṭappa Nāyaka, the ancestor of the Eṭṭaiyāpuram Zemindars, fled from Chandragiri, in company with 64 armed relations, 300 men at arms, and 1,000 dependents, with a certain number of accountants and others, and took refuge with Ati Vīra Parākrama Pāṇḍya Rājā at Madura, who appointed them to repress outrages in the country of the Kaḷḷars, and gave them some villages therein for their maintenance. This is represented to have taken place between 1423 and 1443. In process of time they moved on towards the south and became

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possessed of various villages in the Tinnevelly District, one of which, to which they gave the name of Eṭṭaiyāpuram, they made their capital.

There are some historical discrepancies in this account. Vijaya-nagara was not taken by Alauddin. The reference may be to the taking of Dvāra-samudra by Alauddin's lieutenant Kafur in 1311. The last king of Vijaya-nagara was not Anna Dēva Rājā, but Rāmarajā, who was defeated and slain by a combination of the Muhammadan princes of the Dekhan in 1565. Chandragiri was taken by the Muhammadans in 1645. The general outline only of the story can be accepted as in the main correct.

Last days of the Vijaya-nagara dynasty.

Notwithstanding the destruction of Vijaya-nagara, the dynasty was not entirely destroyed. The family had still strength enough left to establish themselves afresh in another place. For this purpose they fortified Pennakoṇḍa (or Penugoṇḍa), a steep hill 97 miles north of Bangalore, situated like Vijaya-nagara in the modern district of Bellary, and converted it into a hill fort of great strength with a fortified city at the foot, where they continued for about a century to keep up kingly state and to exercise more or less authority over other princes, south of the Krishṇa, including especially the Nāyaka rulers of Madura and Tanjore, in accordance with what they believed to be their ancestral rights. After a time those various feudatory princes made themselves independent of the feeble survivors of the Vijaya-nagara dynasty, both in reality and in name. The most important of the new independent princes that arose was the Rājā of Mysore. One of the few surviving lineal representatives of the ancient family was the Rājā of Chandragiri, and it was from the last of the Chandragiri Rājās that the English obtained a grant of the site of the town of Madras on the 1st March 1640. It was from the name of Chennappa, this Rājā's lieutenant, that the town came to be called by the natives Chennapaṭṭaṇam, Chennapa's town. The Chandragiri dynasty was finally subverted by the Muhammadans in 1645.

Grant of Madras to the English by the Rājā of Chandragiri.

SUCCESSION OF PARAMOUNT POWERS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas.

The outline of the history of the successive dynasties that exercised supreme power in Southern India is clear enough, however doubtful most of the details may be. First the Pāṇḍyas, properly so called, who bore rule in Madura and Tinnevelly from the firs establishment of civil government to the middle of the 11th century, seem during the greater part of that time to have been the paramount power in Southern India. From about the middle of the 11th century the Chōḷas rose to the position of the paramount power and bore rule, directly or indirectly, for about two centuries and a half over the whole Coromandel Coast from Orissa to Cape

Comorin, including even the Tamil or southern portion of Travancore. During the later period of the Chōḷa or Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya rule paramount power over all the southern princes was claimed by the Ballāḷa dynasty of Dwāra-samudra, though it may be doubtful in what degree the power so claimed was really exercised or submitted to. After a short-lived subjugation of the south by the Muhammadans, from the beginning to the middle of the 14th century, the paramount power fell into the hands of the kings of Vijaya-nagara, who succeeded to all and more than all the possessions and power the Ballāḷas and Chōḷas had acquired, and who for nearly two centuries exercised the power they claimed. After the middle of the 16th century no one power can be said to have been really paramount in Southern India till the appearance on the scene of the Nawab of Arcot about the middle of the 18th century.

Pāṇḍyas again, Nagakas, the Nawab.

CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 1365 TO 1731.
THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF PĀṆḌYAS AND OF THE NĀYAKAS.

Second Series of Pāṇḍya Kings.

Chapter III. The Pāṇḍya kings, or a line of kings calling themselves by the same name, succeeded after a time in getting the better of the Muhammadans and resumed their ancient sway. The Muhammadan rule commenced in 1311, and Ibn Batuta found it still in full vigour in 1348; but I have found an inscription of one of the Pāṇḍya kings of the new line—possibly the first of the line—at Kōṭṭār (now in South Travancore, but formerly considered a portion of the Pāṇḍyan country), dated in the Śaka year corresponding to A.D. 1370, in the fifth year of Parākrama Pāṇḍi Dēva. 1365 must have been the year of Parākrama's accession, and it supplies us with a date from which the commencement of the new dynasty may safely be calculated.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya.

Whether the Pāṇḍyas received any help towards thrusting out the Muhammadans is not perfectly certain, but it may be presumed that they did. It does not seem probable that they could have achieved their independence alone, and tradition represents them as receiving help from Canarese generals. It is stated in one of the quasi-historical documents published by Mr. Taylor that in 1372 a Mysore (that is, a Canarese or Kannada) general named Kampana Uḍaiyār reduced the Muhammadan invaders of Madura to submission, and it is further stated in one of the Mackenzie MSS. that this general was an agent of Bukka Rāyar, the first Rāyar of Vijaya-nagara. Bukka became king of Vijaya-nagara in 1350. It would seem, therefore, that Bukka conceived it right to claim in behalf of his new state of Vijaya-nagara some portion of the general suzerainty said to have been exercised over the various states of the south by the later kings of the preceding Canarese dynasty of Dwāra-samudra. It may be concluded, therefore, that from the outset it was in some degree, through help received from Vijaya-nagara, that the second line of Pāṇḍyas succeeded in ousting the Muhammadans and rising to power. The Muhammadans state that in 1374 Mujahid Sha overran the countries between Vijaya-nagara and Cape Comorin, and advanced, like Malik Kafur,

Kampana Uḍaiyār.

to Rāmēśwaram. If he ever did so, which seems to me very doubtful, the invasion must have been a mere plundering expedition which left no trace behind it.

Dated inscriptions of the later Pāṇḍyas.

I have not been able to work out anything like a complete list of the Pāṇḍya kings of the second line. Fortunately, however, the custom of dating inscriptions, not merely by the year of the king's reign, but by the Śaka or some recognised era, which had almost always prevailed in Northern and Central India and in the Telugu and Canarese countries, but had been unknown in the old Pāṇḍya country, came to be acted upon during this period, so that the few particulars I have collected may be regarded as historically certain. All the inscriptions here referred to are in Tinnevelly, except the first of the line already referred to, which is in South Travancore. The next prince, after the one mentioned in that inscription, with an interval of sixty-six years still to be filled up, was Ponnan Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍi, whose reign commenced, as I find by an inscription on a pillar in Tenkāśi (the Southern Benares) opposite the temple, in the Śaka year corresponding to A.D. 1431. This inscription of Ponnan Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍi is a sort of proclamation to the effect that the work of the temple having been finished in the short period of seventeen years, it should be concluded that it was not a work of man, but a divine work! The interval may partly perhaps be filled up a tradition related by the people at Tenkāsi, who say that the Ponnan Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍi who built the temple was preceded by his father, Kāśi Kaṇḍa Parākrama Pāṇḍi, *i.e.*, the Parākrama Pāṇḍi who visited Benares. The next prince is Vīra Pāṇḍi, in whose reign I have found two inscriptions at Śrī-vaikuṇṭham on the northern bank of the Tamraparṇī. They are dated in different years of his reign, but both agree in making his reign commence in 1437. His predecessor's reign, therefore, was very short. It commenced, as we have seen, in 1431 and ended in 1437. The next prince noticed in inscriptions is another Vīra Pāṇḍi, who commenced to reign, according to the Mackenzie MSS., in 1475. He is mentioned in an inscription as reigning in 1490. The next, whose inscription I find in the temple at Courtallum, was also called Parākrama Pāṇḍi and commenced to reign in 1516. The next, probably without an interval, was Vikrama Pāṇḍi. His reign commenced in 1543. The next reign, probably without an interval, was that of Vallabha Dēva, called also Ati-Vīra-Rāma Pāṇḍya, who commenced to reign, according to an inscription in Courtallum, in 1565. This inscription was dated in his fortieth year, that is, in 1605. Another inscription of his in Tenkāśi makes his reign commence in 1562. In this inscription he is called simply Ati-Vīra-Rāma Pāṇḍya, not also Vallabha Dēva. Dr. Burnell informs me that, according to a grant in copper

Tenkasi inscription.

Śrī-vaikuṇṭham inscription.

Ati-Vīra-Rāma Pāṇḍya.

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belonging to a Maṭha in the Tanjore District, Ati-Vīra-Rāma must have died in 1610. This gives him an unusually long reign, but is not incredible. The same grant represents him as succeeded by a Sundara Pāṇḍya. Dr. Burnell has a grant of this Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in the thirteenth year of his reign. This must have been A.D. 1623. So far as appears from the inscriptions I have found in Tinnevelly itself, Ati-Vīra-Rāma seems to have been the last of his line. As, however, he was a man of learning and culture, and a poet of considerable eminence, his line may be said to have set in glory.

The last of the Pāṇḍyas.

The unreliableness of popular traditions and verbal statements regarding events belonging to the distant past, as compared with information derived from inscriptions, may be illustrated by a comparison of the dates given above with those furnished to Mr. Turnbull, a surveyor, who was making inquiries for Colonel Mackenzie about 1820. See his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Tinnevelly printed at Palamcottah in 1877, p. 25.[1] In giving an account of the town, temple, and ancient fort of Tenkāśi, Mr. Turnbull gave the names and dates of several Pāṇḍya kings who were said to have been, directly or indirectly, connected with the place. Ati-Vīra-Rāma Pāṇḍya is represented in this account as having commenced his reign in A.D. 1099; whereas a Tamil inscription belonging to his reign, found in the temple at that very place, states that his reign commenced in 1562. A similar inscription in the Courtallum temple in Sanskrit makes his reign commence nearly at the same date, viz., in 1565. So also Ponnan Perumāḷ Parākrama Pāṇḍya, in whose reign the Tenkāśi temple was built, was stated by Mr. Turnbull's informants to have commenced his reign in 1309; whereas the inscription on the pillar opposite the temple, referred to above, places the commencement of his reign in 1431.

Value of inscriptions as compared with oral information.

Vijaya-nagara supremacy.

Throughout the greater number of the reigns of these Pāṇḍya kings of the later line, the kings of Vijaya-nagara appear to have exercised supreme authority, but I think it may be assumed that they did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the country, that they contented themselves with receiving tribute and occasionally military help, and that the principal result of their suzerainty was that the various petty states included within their nominal rule were protected from foreign invasion, and their propensity to spend their time in fighting with one another kept in check.

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[1] This interesting memoir, compiled apparently about 1823, was discovered in the India Office by R. K. Puckle, Esq., formerly Collector of Tinnevelly, after it had lain there unnoticed for more than fifty years.

The Nāyakas of Madura.

Sources of the history of the Nāyakas.

The history of the Nāyakas of Madura is fully related in Mr. Nelson's Madura Manual, but there are very few particulars in that history connected with Tinnevelly, and it is very doubtful how far the particulars mentioned in it on the authority of native traditions and late compilations can be regarded as trustworthy. The main facts in the history of the Nāyakas related therein may be, and doubtless are, capable of being accepted as correct, but the only incidents and dates that seem to me perfectly reliable are those for which we are indebted to the letters written at the time to their ecclesiastical superiors at home by the Roman Catholic Missionaries. This source of information, however, is of no avail prior to 1600. The narratives, for instance, of the administration of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, taken by Nelson from Taylor's Historical Manuscripts and the Mackenzie Collection, seem to me to fall beneath the level even of tradition. They seem to me little better than pure inventions, dating from the beginning of the present century, attributing to a half mythical Nāyaka the characteristics and aims of a good English Collector.

Letters of the Jesuits.

Commencement of the Nāyaka rule.

The commencement of the rule of the Nāyakas is generally said to have taken place in 1559, but this date depends entirely on very late native authority, and as at that date the power of Vijaya-nagara had sunk very low, it would seem to be more probable that the Nāyaka intervention in the affairs of Madura took place earlier than that, viz., in Krishṇa Rāyalu's reign, about 1520. Nothing can be clearer from the letters of the celebrated Francis Xavier, written in 1543, than that the "Badages," that is the Vaḍugas, or Nāyakas, had already taken possession of the whole interior of the country, and that they were then endeavouring to possess themselves of the sea coast as far south as Cape Comorin. If we suppose this state of things, as we fairly may, to have been gathering head for twenty years or so, we shall trace our way back to the reign of Krishṇa Rāya, viz., to about 1520.

The "Badages" of Xavier.

Origin of the intervention of Vijaya-nagara.

The Vijaya-nagara king's intervention in the affairs of the south is said to have been owing in the first instance to a request for help against a rival preferred to him by the reigning Pāṇḍya. The king of Tanjore had dispossessed the Pāṇḍya and occupied his country, whereupon the latter fled to Vijaya-nagara (as Sundara Pāṇḍya had previously fled to Delhi) and begged for protection. The king of Tanjore is called Vīra-śēkhara, the king of Madura Chandra-śēkhara. I regard these names, however, as quite uncertain. On this application, it is said, the king of Vijaya-nagara despatched a general of his, one Nāgama Nāyaka, to chastise the Chōḷa king and reinstate the Pāṇḍya on the throne of his ancestors. If this really took place, as stated, the Pāṇḍya

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prince referred to may have been Parākrama Pāṇḍi, who commenced to reign, as we have seen, in 1516.

Viswanatha Nayaka.

Nāgama is said to have declared himself independent, whereupon his son, Viśvanātha Nāyaka, volunteered to go and reduce his father to submission. This the son is said to have succeeded in doing, and was rewarded for his loyalty by being made lieutenant or governor of Madura in the Vijaya-nagara Rājā's interest. It is not stated that he, like his father, made himself by his own act independent of his master; but the result was not dissimilar, for the power and dignity that had been conferred upon himself personally, as a mark of royal favour, descended to his posterity for fifteen generations. Viśvanātha Nāyaka seems to have been a man of energy and administrative power. It was by him that Madura is said to have been fortified. Trichinopoly was also said to have been acquired by him from the king of Tanjore, in exchange for Vallam, and incorporated in the Madura country, in which it continued to be included till the period of the supremacy of the Nawab of Arcot. He also quelled a formidable insurrection in Tinnevelly headed by five confederate chiefs, said to have been brothers, who styled themselves the five Pāṇḍavas.

Number of the Poligars.

As the number of Poligars or Pāḷaiyakāras in Tinnevelly is considerable, though not equal to what it is in Madura—(there are at present 22 zemindaries in Tinnevelly and 26 in Madura, including the two very extensive zemindaries of Ramnad and Sivaganga),—I here cite Mr. Nelson's account of the state of things in the Pāṇḍya country generally, which is said to have led to the appointment of Pāḷaiyakāras (Poligars, now Zemindars) by Viśvanātha Nāyaka on his setting himself to the task of pacifying the country:—

ORIGIN OF THE POLIGARS OF THE SOUTH.

Viśvanatha's policy.

"Whilst the settlement of the southern districts was being effected, Visvanātha found it necessary to attempt to provide for the stability of the dynasty of which he hoped to be the founder, by identifying its interests with those of the principal men of the country; and by rendering his rule equally popular with all classes of society. But the task appeared to be one of almost hopeless difficulty. He had brought with him to Madura crowds of dependents and adherents of his own caste, who had as a body proved themselves to be faithful and obedient and had done his work excellently well. These men were all of them greedily looking for their rewards: and unless provided for with lavish liberality would very soon show their teeth. Then there were the old Tamil hereditary chieftains, whom he had found possessed of considerable territories and power. Their good will it was at once most necessary and most difficult to secure. Accustomed from generation to generation to perpetually recurring periods of anarchy, they knew only too well how to draw profit from misrule:

Parties to be conciliated.

and as they sulkily looked on at the doings of the Telugu intruder, it seemed ridiculous to expect that they would ever acquiesce in the establishment of order and sovereign power. Moreover they could not but regard with feelings of the bitterest jealousy and hatred the foreigners who surrounded the governor's person, and who seemed about to appropriate to themselves all the highest offices and emoluments in his gift. Then again there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the Pāṇḍyas—men who could hope for everything from revolution; from peace and quiet nothing. And lastly there were the bold and turbulent Telugu and Canarese adventurers, whose ancestors had seized with a strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country; who paid no man tribute; and whose lawless tempers could ill-brook the curb and spur of a strong government. It was Visvanātha's task to reconcile the conflicting interests of all these classes, to smooth away differences, and to conciliate affection: and to do this in a strange country and with an empty purse! At last he contrived a scheme by which it seemed possible to attain success. Its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time secure their and their descendants' allegiance to himself and his successors. This scheme, though possibly as good as any that could at such a time be devised, was nevertheless fraught with all the elements of danger, and in the end contributed largely, as we shall see, to the subversion of the Nāyaka dynasty. Its details were as follows. There were seventy-two bastions to the fort of Madura, and each of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief, who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He was also bound to pay a fixed annual tribute; to supply and keep in readiness a quota of troops for the governor's armies; and to keep the governor's peace over a particular tract of country. And in consideration of his promise to perform these and other services, a grant was made to him of a tract of country consisting of a certain number of villages, proportioned to his rank and the favour with which Visvanātha and Arya Nāyaka respectively regarded him, together with the title of Pālaiyakāran (Poligar). In addition to this, each grantee was presented with valuable gifts; titles and privileges were conferred upon him amid much pomp and ceremony, and nothing was omitted which could in any way add to the solemnity and importance of the governor's act. Such was the origin of the famous Madura Pālaiyakāras, of some of whom the descendants are still possessed of their ancestors' feuds, if not of their rank and power."

Viśvanātha's plan of conciliation.

Investiture of the Poligars.

It appears to me very doubtful whether all the Poligars in Madura and Tinnevelly were appointed in this manner by one Nāyaka ruler alone, whether Viśvanātha himself, the supposed founder of the dynasty, or any other. The documents on which Mr. Nelson relied seem to me to possess little or no historical value. All that can be regarded, I think, as probable is that the existence of the Poligars as a class dates from the period of the commencement

Doubtfulness of these traditions.

CHAPTER III. of the rule of the Nāyakas. Very few of the Zemindars (the principal exception is the Sētupati of Ramnad) can claim that their estates or chiefships were conferred upon them prior to the Nāyaka period by the old Pāṇḍya kings.

Etymology of "Poligar." The title of Poligar is said by General Wilks to have been given by the Vijaya-nagara kings (though he does not say by which of them) to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. The Tamil name is Pālaiyakkāra, the literal meaning of which is the holder of a camp, secondly the holder of a barony on military tenure. But the English seem to have taken their name Poligar, not from the Tamil Pālaiyakkāra, but from the Telugu Pālegāḍu, or the Canarese Pāḷegāra, the meaning of which is identical. [Gāḍu and gāra are equivalent to kāra.] In like manner the English seem to have taken their word Pollam, a Poligar's holding, rather from the Telugu Pālem-u, than from the Tamil Pāḷaiyam. The Vijaya-nagara Poligar was held to be a lord over thirty-three villages, but there is no trace of any such rule as to number in the Tamil country. The Poligar is said to have been originally in the Kannaḍa country called an Oḍeyar (proprietor, pronounced Woḍeyar). The Tamil form of this title is Uḍaiyār, and this is often used by Zemindars in the Tamil country. I have found it sometimes in inscriptions included amongst the titles of ancient kings.

Results of the appointment. Looking at the result of the appointment of Poligars by the rulers of Madura, it can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rude, rapacious feudal nobles, such as the Poligars generally were, turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central authority they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force, which added greatly both to the unpopularity and the expense of the collection.

See an account of the position occupied by the Poligars at a later period in Chapter IV.

Defence of the Poligar system. Mr. Stuart in his Tinnevelly Manual, after quoting the above estimate of the results of the appointment of Poligars by the rulers of Madura, endeavours to extenuate the evils of the system. He says, "this remark would, however, apply with equal force to feudal institutions in Europe in the middle ages, and as these served their purpose in the age of the world in which they flourished, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that protection from foreign foes and internal order and progress, though frequently accompanied by

oppression and misrule, were secured by this means to an extent which would have been otherwise impossible." It is so seldom that one hears a good word about the Poligars that I quote these remarks of Mr. Stuart with pleasure. He does not question their misdeeds, but endeavours to extenuate them by a historical parallel. I fear, however, that the misdeeds of the Poligars were more systematic and audacious than those of the feudal nobles of Europe in the middle ages. Even admitting, however, the appropriateness of the parallel, not much seems to be gained by it, for, whether in Europe or in Southern India, the "foreign foes" that were most sedulously guarded against were not foreigners, properly so called, but the legitimate rulers of the country, and it was not till the Poligars of the Highlands of Scotland and of the Rhine, like the Poligars of Tinnevelly, had submitted to the dominion of the central government that "internal order and progress" were in any degree secured.

The only other incidents connected with Tinnevelly I find in the history of the Madura Nāyakas are the following :—

Krishnapuram.

Arya Nāyaka Mudali having succeeded in quieting the country, the Nāyaka ruler, Kumāra Krishṇappa (or Krishṇama), occupied himself, it is said, in building a town to the east of Palamcottah, which he called after himself Krishṇapuram. This statement, however, is not supported by local evidence. This Krishṇapuram appears to have been built by a Mudali called Mayil-ērum-perumāḷ, who being originally a Saiva became a convert to the worship of Krishṇa and afterwards a Tādar (Dāsa) or Vaishṇava devotee. The work of this temple is considered to be particularly beautiful. This new town of Krishṇappa's being a great success, he is said to have built another of the same sort to the westward called Kaḍaiyam Krishṇapuram, the Krishṇapuram which is near Kaḍaiyam. It lies between Tenkāśi and Brahmadēsam. Krishṇappa died in 1573. Nelson, p. 105.

Rebellion of Ettaiyapuram.

"During the rule of Tirumala Nāyaka, for some reason which cannot now be discovered, the powerful Poligar of Ettaiyāpuram in the Tinnevelly District put himself at the head of a confederation of Poligars and took up arms against the king. The Sētupati, the Poligar of Ramnad, being the chief of all the Poligars, was entrusted with the duty of quelling the rebellion and performed it most satisfactorily. The leader of the rebels was put to death, and the others severely punished, and in a few months tranquillity was completely restored. For this service he was rewarded by the gift of a large slice of land in the neighbourhood of Maṅār koil and entrusted with the duty of protecting the pearl fishery, which yielded considerable sums of money to the royal treasury." Nelson's Madura.

The latter clause means, I think, that the pearl fishery to the north of the island of Paumben was now admitted to be the

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property of the Ramnad Sētupati, whilst the rest of the fishery, by far the largest portion of it, extending from Paumben to the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, remained as before in the king's own hands.

Royal representatives in Tinnevelly.

"Another and much higher official (than the Collector of Customs) was the Administrator or Governor of the Tinnevelly country. When the king lived in Madura it was highly necessary to place a man of ability in charge of the southern districts and vest him with large powers; and it became still more necessary to do this when Trichinopoly was made the capital."

There is an inscription near Sheranmādēvi in which one Vīra-rāghava Mudaliār is described as the Kārya-karttā, or agent, of Vīrappa Nāyaka in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Tirumalai's younger brother, Kumāramuttu, claimed the right of succeeding to the throne. In virtue, however, of some negotiations he consented to waive his claim and accepted in lieu of the crown the district of Sivakāsi and other territories in the Tinnevelly province.

Tigers on the sea coast.

A French Missionary's letter written in 1700 states that "for some time past a large jungle on the Tinnevelly coast had been infested by tigers to such a degree that after sunset no inhabitant of any village situated in its neighbourhood dared to move outside his door. Watch was kept in every village at night, and large fires were lighted for the purpose of scaring the monsters away. Even in the day time travelling was not quite safe; and numbers of people had disappeared who had without doubt been seized and devoured in lonely places." This fact is noticeable, inasmuch as tigers have been for many years unknown in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts (except in the vicinity of the mountains); and their existence in large numbers on the sea coast in 1700 would seem to show that the country was then much more sparsely populated and contained many more uncultivated tracts than at the present day.

LIST OF THE NĀYAKAS.

List of the Nāyakas of Madura.

The following is a list of the Nāyaka rulers of Madura with the dates of their accession, according to the authorities followed by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Nelson. The reader is requested, however, to remember that I have shown that the commencement of the rule of the Nāyakas is probably to be placed at least thirty years earlier:—

Viśvanātha Nāyaka	1559
Kumāra Krishṇappa Nāyaka	1563
Periya Vīrappa Nāyaka	1573
Viśvanātha II Nāyaka	1573
Lingaiyā Nāyaka Viśvappa Nāyaka	1595

Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka	1602
Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka	1609
Tirumalai Nāyaka	1623
Muttu Aḷakādri Nāyaka	1659
Choka Nātha Nāyaka	1662
Ranga Krishṇa Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka ..	1682
Mangammāḷ (Queen Regent)	1689
Vijaya Ranga Choka Nātha Nāyaka ..	1704
Mīnākshi Ammāḷ (Queen Regent)	1731
Chanda Saheb's usurpation	1736

Tirumala Nāyaka.

By far the most distinguished prince of the Nāyaka dynasty was Tirumalai Nāyaka (from 1623 to 1659), a prince whose magnificent tastes are attested by the remains of the buildings he erected at Madura, especially the remains of his palace, a Saracenic structure, which is the grandest building of its kind in Southern India. What is now called the palace was originally little more than the hall of audience. He erected another palace of much smaller dimensions, but in the same style of architecture, at Srīvilliputtūr in Tinnevelly, where it is said he liked to reside occasionally. The remains of the Madura palace are now utilised for courts and other public offices. The greater part of Tirumalai Nāyaka's reign was disfigured by exhausting and impolitic wars. The next most noticeable personage in the Nāyaka line was the Queen Regent Mangammāḷ (from 1689 to 1704), who ruled as regent during the minority of her grandson. She eschewed wars and cultivated the arts of peace, and all through Tinnevelly, as well as in Madura and the adjacent districts, she achieved a reputation which survives to the present day as the greatest maker of roads, planter of avenues, digger of wells, and builder of choultries the royal houses of Madura ever produced. It has become customary to attribute to her every avenue found any where in the country. I have found, for instance, that all the avenues in the neighbourhood of Courtallum are attributed to Mangammāḷ. Having done so much she is supposed to have done all.

Buildings erected by him.

Mangammāḷ.

NĀYAKA TITLES.

The Nāyakas did not style themselves kings.

It is worthy of notice that the Nāyakas never called themselves kings of Madura. They professed to be lieutenants of the great Rāyalu of Vijaya-nagara and nothing more; and even when they refused the tribute due to their lord paramount or waged war against him, they do not seem to have cared to clutch at a higher title. They assumed all the state and wielded all the power of kings, but seem to have been deterred by some feeling of hereditary loyalty from assuming the name. We have seen also that there were Pāṇḍya kings surviving and nominally reigning in the

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Madura country at least down to 1605, notwithstanding the contemporaneous existence of the Nāyakas. Nāyaka in Sanskrit means a leader, a chief, but as used in Southern India it is the hereditary title of certain Telugu castes. In Telugu the masculine singular is written Nāyuḍu, in Tamil Nāyakkan. There are several divisions among the Nāyakas, and it is said that the Madura royal dynasty belonged to the division of the caste called Vaḍuga-Nāyakas, commonly called simply Vaḍugas, the Badages of Xavier. The ordinary name by which the Nāyaka rulers of Madura are styled in the Tamil country, at least in the south, is the "Karttākkaḷ." People speak of such and such an event as happening in the days of the Karttākkaḷ. This is the Tamil plural of the Sanskrit Kartā, a doer, an agent, a representative. This title seems to have been chosen as being one that involved less assumption than the title of king, and yet had more of a royal sound than Nāyaka, which after all was only a caste title. Perhaps the best rendering of the title of Karttā in this connection would be "High Commissioner."

The Karttākkaḷ.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NĀYAKA RULE.

Reputation of the Pāṇḍyas as rulers.

It is unfortunate for the reputation of the Nāyakas as rulers that so much more is known about them and their proceedings than about their Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa predecessors. The Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas left behind them few or no records of their rule. It is often, therefore, taken for granted that their rule must have been characterised by an unfailing respect for justice. The age in which they lived has become the patrimony of the poets, who describe it as a golden age of light taxes, of freedom from oppression, of rain three times a month, and of universal happiness. On the other hand the Nāyakas lived and ruled at so recent a period, and so much was written about them at the time by European Missionaries residing in their territory, that the entire public and private character of most of them stands exposed to "that fierce light which beats upon a throne." Judged therefore not merely by modern European standards of right and wrong, but even by the standards furnished by Hindu and Muhammadan books of authority, the Nāyakas must be decided to have fallen far short of their duty as rulers. Their reigns record little more than a disgraceful catalogue of debaucheries, treacheries, plunderings, oppressions, murders, and civil commotions, relieved only by the factitious splendour of gifts to temples, idols, and priests, by means of which they apparently succeeded in getting the Brahmans and poets to speak well of them, and thus in keeping the mass of the people patient under their misrule.

Reputation of the Nāyakas.

Misrule hidden by shows.

As we have no reason to suppose the Nāyakas worse than the dynasties that preceded them, we cannot safely form a higher estimate of the characteristics of the administration of the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kings. Neither during the period of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas nor during the Nāyaka period were any roads in existence. What were called roads were merely cross-country tracks, sometimes lined with trees. Bridges appear to have been unknown. There were no magistrates or judges, except at the capital, where the king himself sat in judgment, assisted by Brahman advisers. There were no schools, except for Brahmans. Trade was unprotected, and merchants did not dare to appear to grow rich. Hospitals were unknown. When any question came up for decision, every thing was determined in accordance either with the caprice of the monarch or the iron code of custom and caste; and it does not seem to have entered into the mind of any person that it was possible for him to become freer, better, or happier than his ancestors. It was not until the British Government appeared on the scene that any serious attempt was made to lift the mass of the people to a higher level. The only public works then carried on were works of irrigation, and it must freely be admitted that they were generally carried on with exemplary vigour and marked success, not however, so far as appears, by the rulers, but by the people themselves. Anicuts, or weirs, were thrown across the principal rivers, especially the Tāmraparṇī, and the open country was covered with a net-work of tanks.

Works of public utility almost unknown.

Administration of laws.

ANICUTS ON THE TĀMRAPARṆĪ.

There are eight anicuts[1] on the Tāmraparṇī, seven of which were constructed before the arrival of the English in Tinnevelly.

Anicuts on the Tāmraparṇī.

1. The highest of these is rather a dam than an anicut. It is called, however, by the Natives talaiyaṇai, the head or first anicut. The river after descending the Pāpanāsam falls passes through a narrow gorge, which is partially blocked up by huge boulders and a reef of rock. In the rock holes have been cut in which posts, for the most part of palmyra trees, have been inserted, and against these cross bars with brushwood have been placed. Water is thus supplied for the channels leading off from either bank.

2. Probably the most ancient of the anicuts, properly so called, is that styled the Nadiyuṇṇi anicut, about a mile and a half above Ambāsamudram. It is made of large uncemented stones. Nadiyuṇṇi means "that which drinks up the river." An inscription on a stone belonging to this anicut now in the bed of the stream represents it as having been made at a comparatively recent time. "This Nadiyuṇṇi aṇai was made," says the inscription, "as a

[1] Aṇaikkaṭṭu is the equivalent Tamil, from aṇai a dam, and kattu a construction.

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charitable work by Khan Saheb, in the years of the Śālivāhana and Quilon eras answering to A.D. 1759." Khan Saheb means the celebrated Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who was in power at that time and about whom we shall hear much in the sequel. The natives in the neighbourhood say with much probability that the anicut was originally made by the ancient Pāṇḍya kings, but repaired and strengthened by Khan Saheb.

Legend of the Kannaḍian Aṇai.

3. The most famous of the anicuts is that which is called by the English the Caṇadian anicut. "Canadian" stands for Kannaḍiyan, and the meaning is the anicut made by the Kannaḍi or Kannaḍiyan, that is, by the Canarese man. This is opposite Ambāsamudram. Of the many legends current respecting this Kannaḍiyan one is to the effect that he was placed in possession of immense wealth by a local divinity, who ordered him to devote this wealth to the construction of an anicut. One form of the legend is that all the anicuts were made by the same person. A cow, it seems, was sent forth as a guide, and wherever the cow lay down an anicut was to be constructed. The cow lay down six times between Ambāsamudram and the sea, and accordingly six anicuts were made by the Kannaḍi out of the same supernatural supply of funds. Another and milder form of the legend is that only this one anicut which bears his name was made by the Kannaḍi, and that the cow was commissioned only to mark out the channel leading from this one anicut. Wherever the cow went a channel was to be dug, and wherever she lay down they were to make a tank. The only particular in these legends which seems likely to be true is that the maker of the anicut was some public-spirited Kannaḍi or Canarese man, probably a representative of the Madura government for the time being.

Date of this anicut.

The date of the construction of this anicut is unknown, but it may be placed any time between the commencement of the fourteenth century and the close of the sixteenth. There are inscriptions in a temple near the channel, one of which is dated in the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is a little temple near the anicut itself, where a sacrifice is offered yearly to the local divinity, on the 5th of June, on which occasion the sluice is ceremonially opened and the water allowed to enter the channel. There is a choultry at Shermadēvy (Chēran-mā-dēvī) said to have been built by the same Kannaḍi.

Another form of the legend.

Another form of the legend is given in Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore.

"It would seem that a Telugu (?) Brahman, commonly known by the name of Kunnaḍia, received a donation of a large number of gold coins from the Mahā Rājāh Prathāpa Rudra of Veloor; that this Brahman, by the advice of the sage Agastyar, who resided on a hill in Thiruadi Dēsam (Travancore), built an anicut (still in existence)

across the Thambraverni river, and opened an irrigation canal from that spot to the extent of about twenty-one miles; that with the surplus money he built a sathram at Chēra Mahā Dēvi for feeding a certain number of Brahmans daily; and that he appointed the holder of the copper plate as the perpetual manager of that institution."

The writer quotes the substance of the language of the plate itself:—

"A copy of the copper sasanum in question was procured by us. It purports to have been executed by Narayanappaya of the Kunnadian family of Bharadwaja Gothram (line) of Brahmans, professing the Rig Veda, and who received a donation called Kalapurusha Danum from Mahā Rājāh Gajapathi Prathāpa Rudra Rayer, who reigned at Veloor; that he, the recipient, resolving to perform some charity with the money proceeded to Thrippathi, and on invoking Vencatachala Swamy obtained that deity's blessing, and in accordance with the commands of the swami he repaired to the southern kingdom called Thiruadi Dēsam (Travancore country) where on the Malayachala mountain, he met the sage Agastyar by whose order he excavated an irrigation canal for the benefit of the Brahmans: with the surplus money he resolved to institute a sathram for the daily feeding of Brahmans and accordingly constructed a building on the southern banks of the Thambraverni and on the western side of Chera-Maha Devi Alakiyappen Swamy Kovil; Narayana Pillay, the son of Gopala Pillay, Brahman of Sreevatsa Gothram (line), professing the Yajur Veda, and residing in the old village or Brahman hamlet, built by Cheren Perumal Rajah, was entrusted with the management of this sathram, a perpetual grant being made to Narayana Pillay by this copper plate document, executed on Thursday, Shrawana asterism, Punchami Aushada month, Sowmmya Nama year of Kali 3342 (242 A.D.) for the maintenance of the sathram of certain lands purchased for 2587 Kali Yuga Ramen [1] Madura vella fanams, together with nine slaves of the soil at the rate of one hundred and thirty-five fanams, accompanied by a scale of the daily expenditure to be made and mentioning a fixed sum as remuneration to the Superintendent Narayana Pillay.

"To this sathram, pepper was to be supplied from Travancore, as that spice was a produce of that country and could not be obtained without the king's permission. It was given gratis, and in the year 970 M.E. (1795 A.D.), three years previous to his death, the old Rama Rajah ordered a commutation price of one hundred and eighty Kali fanams to be paid to the sathram, which sum is paid to the present time."

This account of the origin of the anicut is evidently as legendary and as little trustworthy as the others. It throws light, however, on the personality of the Kannadiyan. It may be regarded as certain from the plate that he was a Brahman. The date assigned to the transaction in the plate, viz., A.D. 242, is of course a

[1] "One Kali Yuga Ramen fanam is still the currency of Travancore."

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pure invention. I have never found the use of the year of the Kali yuga era or of the year of the cycle of Jupiter in any inscription in Tinnevelly older than the fifteenth century A.D. But the date is contradicted by a statement contained in the plate itself. The king from whom the Kannaḍi or Canarese Brahman received this donation was not one of the ancient Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa or Chēra kings, but a monarch of comparatively modern times, a member of the Vēlūr branch of the Rāyars. When the Vijaya-nagara empire was overthrown by the Muhammadans in 1564 various princes belonging to the defeated but still powerful Rāyar family established themselves in various places, one of which was Vēlūr. Tirumalai Nāyaka, the greatest of the Nāyakas of Madura (from 1623 to 1659) acknowledged the Rāyar of Vēlūr as his feudal superior. Pratāba Rudra was a common name amongst the Telugu dynasties. The date of the construction of the anicut is thus brought down within the range of probability.

Ariyanāyaka-puram anicut.

4. The next anicut is that of Ariyanāyakapuram. It will be remembered that Ariya-nāyaka was a person of great importance in the earliest period of Nāyaka history. It does not follow however that this Ariya-nāyaka had anything to do with the erection of this anicut, which receives its name from the name of the village nearest to it.

Suttamalli anicut.

5. The fifth anicut is that of Suttamalli. This important anicut supplies water of irrigation to the town of Tinnevelly and the neighbourhood.

Paḷavūr anicut.

6. The sixth is at Paḷavūr and supplies Palamcottah and the neighbourhood. The channel leading from the latter is called Pāḷaiyan's channel, and is attributed, with the original fort of Palamcottah, to one Pāḷaiyan, who was also a Kannaḍi. The latter Kannaḍi is said to have been a descendant of the former. Paḷavūr is on the left bank of the river, though the channel which leads from it runs along the right bank.

Marudūr anicut.

7. Of all the anicuts on the Tāmraparṇī the one which supplies the largest extent of paddy cultivation is that at Marudūr, some miles to the east of Palamcottah. This anicut was almost wholly rebuilt in 1792, during the Collectorship of Mr. Torin (as an inscription testifies), and great improvements were again made in it in 1807 by Colonel Caldwell.

Puthugudi anicut.

8. The last of the eight anicuts, the one that is nearest to the sea, between Puthugudi and Srīvaikuṇṭham, was constructed only a few years ago by Lieutenant Shepherd. The river is here 800 yards broad. The anicut cost eleven lakhs. This is the only anicut on the Tāmraparṇī wholly constructed by the British Government. All the anicuts, however, have been strengthened and improved since the country came under British rule.

THE PORTUGUESE ON THE COAST OF TINNEVELLY.

Vasco da Gama's information.

The Portuguese arrived at Calicut on the 20th of May 1498. They came in three small vessels under the command of Vasco da Gama, the first European mariner who found his way to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. He returned to Europe the following year, when he presented to his sovereign a summary of the events of his voyage and of his discoveries. He therein mentioned a place on the Tinnevelly coast, Cael (Kāyal), where he was told that pearls were found, and which he was informed was under a Mussulman king. Not long after we find a king of Quilon living at Kāyal, but it may have been true that in Vasco da Gama's time the ruler of the place was a Muhammadan, for it was from the Muhammadans that the Paravas shortly after asked to be protected; we know from other sources that the Muhammadans were numerous and powerful along the coast at that time, and I have found in Kāyal itself a tradition that the last king of the place was a Muhammadan.

The Portuguese at Cochin.

The first settlement of the Portuguese in India was at Cochin, where they established a factory in 1502. In the following year they erected a fort there. From that time they became virtually masters of the whole sea coast of India, and ere long drove all Moorish, that is, all Muhammadan, vessels from the sea, except those that consented to receive Portuguese passes. Barbosa, a Portuguese Captain, who visited many places in the east shortly after, relates that in 1514 he found Cael (Kāyal) belonging to the king of Quilon, who generally resided there. By the king of Quilon we are to understand the sovereign who at a later period was styled, as now, the king of Travancore. Marco Polo in 1293 distinguished between the kingdom of Quilon and the kingdom of Travancore, the latter of which he called the kingdom of "Comari." At the time, however, of the arrival of the Portuguese Travancore was found to have absorbed Quilon. If we are to suppose that the king of Quilon found by Barbosa at Kāyal was the reigning king of Travancore himself, he must, according to Travancore authorities, have been Srī Vīra Ravivarmā. It does not seem certain however that it was the reigning Rājā himself, for each of the Rājā's brothers is commonly called Rājā, and a little later on, in Xavier's time, we find that it was a relative of the king who was residing at Kāyal. However this may be, it is clear that Kāyal was regarded by the earliest Portuguese as belonging to Travancore, and that the king of Travancore was regarded as the legitimate sovereign of the whole of the south of Tinnevelly. This is quite in accordance with Tinnevelly traditions and inscriptions, and in particular with the records contained in the temple at Trichendūr. At that time the Pāṇḍya Rājās had sunk into insignificance, and the Nāyakas of

Barbosa's information.

The king of Travancore at Kāyal.

CHAPTER III. Madura had not yet consolidated their power. It was natural therefore that the king of the adjacent territory of Travancore should take the opportunity of bringing at least the southern portion of Tinnevelly under his rule.

In 1517 the Portuguese established a settlement, with a fort, at Colombo in Ceylon; and in 1522 they sent a commission from Cochin to Mailāpūr, or Saint Thomé, near Madras, to search for the body of Saint Thomas, which was supposed to have been preserved in the church at a place called the Little Mount. We cannot doubt that long ere that date they had explored the whole of the Tinnevelly coast, and made themselves acquainted with the lucrative pearl fishery to which their attention had been called by Vasco da Gama, and which had been carried on along that coast from the beginning of the historical period to that time.

THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE PORTUGUESE.

Embassy of the Paravas to Cochin.

The first recorded appearance, however, of any Portuguese expedition on the Tinnevelly coast was in 1532, when a deputation of Paravas, people of the fisher caste, came to Cochin for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the Portuguese against the Moors or Muhammadans. The chief place along the coast then as now inhabited by Muhammadans was Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam, a town not to be confounded, as it has often been, with Kāyal, now called Old Kāyal. The deputation to Cochin is said to have comprised seventy persons. They were successful in their application, and an expedition was fitted out. Father Michael Vaz, the Vicar-General at Cochin, accompanied the fleet with some priests, and is described by Xavier some years afterwards as "the true father of the Comorin Christians." The application of the Paravas to the Portuguese at Cochin and the plan they adopted of securing their help by promising to embrace their religion were owing, it is said, to the advice given them by a native, himself a recent convert, called Joam de Cruz. The members of the deputation were baptised at Cochin by Father Vaz, and on his arrival on the coast, after the overthrow of the Muhammadans, 20,000 Paravas, inhabiting thirty villages, are said to have been baptised. Looking at these circumstances I think we cannot err in setting down 1532 as the date of the commencement of the Portuguese power on the Tinnevelly coast. Xavier writes that the chiefs of the Saracens (Muhammadans) were slain and that their power was utterly broken. By 1542, when he first visited the coast, the pearl fishery had fallen entirely into Portuguese hands. The places where the Portuguese had established themselves in Xavier's time were Maṇapāḍu, Punnaikāyal, Tuticorin, and Vēmbār, but it will appear afterwards, from notes from early Portuguese writers

The Portuguese in power along the coast.

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lion, wherefore the Right Honorable Edward Lord Clive, Governor in Council aforesaid, proclaims to the said Poligars, Sērvaikāras and inhabitants that, with the exception of Vīrapāṇḍya Nāyaka and Mookat Nāyaka of Pānjālamkurichi, Mūlapen of Rāmnād, and the persons now under restraint, whom it is the intention of His Lordship in Council to punish by banishment beyond the seas, the British Government now extends to all other persons who may have been induced to follow the desperate fortunes of the principal rebels, a free and full pardon of the offences which they have committed against the Company. The Governor in Council, therefore, assures such persons as may have been implicated in the crime of the late rebellion, that His Lordship in Council has relinquished every intention of prosecuting the punishment of that rebellion, deeming the examples already exhibited to their observation to convey a sufficient impression of the power of the British Government.

A permanent assessment promised to the Poligars.

17. In the confident expectation of redeeming the people of the Southern Provinces from the habits of predatory warfare, and in the hope of inducing them to resume the arts of peace and agriculture, the Right Honorable Edward Lord Clive, Governor in Council of Fort St. George aforesaid, announces to the Poligars and to all the inhabitants of their Pollams, that it is the intention of the British Government to establish a permanent assessment of Revenue on the Lords of the Pollam upon the principles of Zemindary tenures, which assessment, being once fixed, shall be liable to no change in any time to come, that the Poligars, becoming by these means Zemindars of their hereditary estates, will be exempted from all military service, and that the possession of their ancestors will be secured to them under the operation of limited and defined laws, to be printed and published, as well for the purpose of restoring its own officers to the regulations and ordinances of the Government, as of securing to the people their property, their lives, and the religious usages of their respective castes.

(By the order of the Right Honorable Governor in Council.)

(Signed) P. A. AGNEW, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commanding S. M. Districts.

CAMP PALAMCOTTAH,
26*th December* 1801.

This Proclamation forms as a very suitable termination of one period of the history of Tinnevelly and an equally suitable commencement of another.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A mixed government, partly carried on on English principles and partly controlled by the Nawab's prejudices, came thus to an end and was succeeded by a government purely English, at unity with itself, and as just as it was powerful. The results of this change have been most important and valuable. Professor Wilson in his "Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Paṇḍya" places in a striking light the course things would have taken if the English Government had not been enabled to interpose with authority.

Professor Wilson's anticipations.

"It may be concluded," he says, "that had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to inforce the habits of social life, the fine districts to the south of the Kāvēri, most admirably fitted by nature to support an industrious population, would have reverted to the state in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would once more have become a suitable domicile for the goblins of Rāvaṇa or the apes of Hanumān."

War the normal condition of the country.

The first reflection that arises in one's mind on reading the foregoing sketch of the history of this district is, that war seems to have been the normal condition of Tinnevelly, as of the rest of the old Pāṇḍya country, and doubtless also it may be said, as of the rest of Southern India from the beginning of man's abode in these regions till A.D. 1801. A district that never from the beginning knew peace for 80 months together—probably never even for 80 weeks—has now enjoyed profound, uninterrupted peace for 80 years! and in consequence of this all the arts of peace have had time to be developed and to approach something like perfection.

Condition of things getting steadily worse.

Another conclusion which we seem to be entitled to form is that prior to the cession of the district to the English, the administration of public affairs and the condition of the country and people, instead of improving as time went on, in virtue of the lessons taught by the accumulated experience of the past, were steadily getting worse and worse. Things were worse under the Nāyakas than under the Pāṇḍyas, worse still under the rule of the Nawab, and worst of all—as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn—during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal and the only real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious "renters."

The Poligar has become a Zamindar.

Of the many beneficial changes that have taken place since then one of the most remarkable is that which we see in the Poligars themselves. The Poligar has become a Zamindar, and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nāyaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One asks also, can it be really true that the peaceful Nāyaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars, who were so ready, at the merest word of their chief, to shed either their own blood or that of their chief's enemies? The change wrought amongst the poorer class of the Maravas is not perhaps quite so complete, but many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen, and it may fairly be said of the majority of the members of this caste that, though once the terror of the country, they are now as amenable to law and reason as any other class.

Improvements introduced.

The whole aspect of things in Tinnevelly has changed for the better in a wonderful degree since the assumption of the government of the district by the English, and beneficial changes of all kinds are still in progress. The thick impervious jungles which covered most of the plains and which had for generation after generation furnished the haunts and hiding-places of banditti have

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disappeared (perhaps only too completely), and cotton and food grains cover those tracts instead. Good roads have been made wherever they were required, all the rivers and the principal nullahs have been bridged over, carts have to a large extent taken the place of pack-bullocks, and transit duties have been utterly abolished. The whole district has been twice surveyed and mapped. Courts and cutcherries for the settlement of civil disputes and the repression of crime have succeeded to the arbitrary awards of irresponsible Pandits and illiterate Poligars. Well-considered legal codes have been introduced. A police force has been organized. Hospitals and dispensaries—institutions unknown before even by name—have been established in populous places. The Government in the great recent famine of 1877 has not left the people to perish, as they would have been left, and could not but have been left, in former times, but has set itself at whatever cost to preserve them from dying of hunger. Education has made great progress, not only amongst the Brahmans and the class of officials, but even amongst the poorer classes. The benefits of postal communication have been widely extended, and in our own day we have seen introduced the wonders of the railway and the telegraph. A truly paternal government has not only helped the people in every emergency, but it has helped them to help themselves. It has not only governed them better than they were ever governed before, but has taught and encouraged them, as far as is possible at present, to govern themselves. It has endeavoured not to raise a few classes only, but to lift the whole community to a higher level. So quiet, peaceful, and contented has the district become that it is governed by the merest handful of Europeans. The population amounts (roughly) to seventeen lakhs (17,00,000), whilst the number of Europeans directly engaged in the government of the district, including the commanding officer of a single company of sepoys, themselves natives, does not exceed ten. We have thus the extraordinary spectacle of seventeen hundred thousand natives submitting to be governed by ten Englishmen! Nor would it be sufficient to say merely that they submit to be governed, they accept our government readily and willingly as the best government they have ever had and the best they are likely to have in this age of the world. This might almost be called a miracle, but it is at any rate a striking proof—and so I believe it is regarded by the natives themselves—that a strict administration of justice and unselfish efforts for the public good will ever ensure the loyal obedience of the best portion of the people and the approbation of the Supreme Ruler of the world. Race after race of rulers has risen up in this country, has been tried and found wanting, and has passed away. Can it then be expected that the rule of the English is to last for ever? perhaps not;

Good government.

Proportionate numbers of English and Natives.

Prospects for the future.

"for ever" is a strong expression; but this I think may safely be predicted, that their rule will be allowed to continue as long as they rule, as on the whole they have ruled, or at least endeavoured to rule, hitherto, not for their own selfish ends merely, or for the benefit of a particular class merely, but for the benefit of the whole people of the land.

NOTE ON THE SEPARATION OF RĀMNĀD FROM TINNEVELLY.

Rāmnād, together with Sivagangai, though never considered a portion of Tinnevelly, was always included with Tinnevelly for the purposes of government under the same head, from the first introduction of English control, in the person of a Superintendent of Assigned Revenue in 1781, to 1803. During Mr. Lushington's Collectorate, Mr. Parish, his Head Assistant, took special charge of Rāmnād affairs. On the introduction of the permanent settlement into Rāmnād that year and the establishment of a Zillah Court therein, Mr. Parish was appointed Collector of the Rāmnād Zillah, including the districts of Madura and Dindigul. Mr. Cochrane, who was appointed Collector of the now diminished "province" of Tinnevelly, took charge of the district on the 5th November 1803. Thus, whilst Mr. Parish was the first Collector of Rāmnād with Madura, &c., Mr. Cochrane was the first Collector of Tinnevelly alone. Even then his authority did not extend over the whole district, for the "Pollams" or Zamindaris in Tinnevelly remained for some years in connexion with Rāmnād as before.

Rāmnād occupied the place of honor in the new arrangement. The Board of Revenue say, "the Zillah of Rāmnād, which includes the Zamindari of Shevagungah and the Zemindaries of Tinnevelly, and the districts of Dindigul and Madura, with their dependent Pollams and those of Manapara, form one Collectorate under the charge of Mr. G. Parish." The shorter title generally used was "Zillah Rāmnād, Dindigul, and Madura," and sometimes "Zillah Rāmnād" alone. In 1808 the Zillah of Rāmnād was abolished, and the twenty-nine small Zamindaris, formerly denominated "the Tinnevelly Pollams," were incorporated with the district of Tinnevelly.

CHAPTER X.

MISSIONS IN TINNEVELLY PRIOR TO THE CESSION OF THE COUNTRY TO THE ENGLISH, 1801.

PART I.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

CHAPTER X.

Portuguese expedition.

IT has already been mentioned, in our account of the settlements of the Portuguese on the Tinnevelly coast, that the commencement of the Roman Catholic Mission in Tinnevelly dates from 1532, when certain Paravas, representatives of the Paravas or fishing caste, visited Cochin for the purpose of supplicating the aid of the Portuguese against their Muhammadan oppressors, and were baptized there by Michael Vaz, Vicar General of the Bishop (not yet Archbishop) of Goa. The same ecclesiastic, with other priests, accompanied the fleet which sailed for the purpose of chastising the Muhammadans, and as soon as that object was accomplished, set about baptizing the Paravas all along the coast, in accordance with the agreement into which their representatives had entered. The entire Parava caste adopted the religion of their Portuguese deliverers, and most of them received baptism. Some, however—probably in the villages on the Rāmnād coast—did not receive baptism from some cause till Xavier's time, ten years afterwards. The Paravas thus Christianized—called generally at that time the Comorin Christians—inhabited thirty villages, and numbered, according to the most credible account, twenty thousand souls. These villages extended all the way along the coast at irregular intervals from Cape Comorin to the island-promontory of Rāmēśvaram, if not beyond, and the coast itself, called at first the Comorin coast, came to be more commonly called, on account of the pearl fishery for which it was famed, the "Fishery Coast," or simply "the Fishery." It does not appear that any village in the interior joined in the movement; and even in the fishing villages on the coast Vaz's work seems to have been very superficial, for though he is described as a kind protector of the Paravas, they appear to have continued totally uninstructed till Xavier appeared on the scene.

Baptism of the Paravas on the Tinnevelly coast.

XAVIER.

Francis Xavier's arrival and work.

This celebrated Missionary, Francis Xavier, commenced his labours amongst the Paravas on the Tinnevelly coast towards the close of 1542, and laboured amongst them for about two years. He

himself explains his own plan of procedure. Immediately after his arrival on the coast he had the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Decalogue translated into the vernacular. He then committed the translations to memory. Four months were occupied in this work, during which he resided in one of the Christian villages. Thus furnished, and accompanied by young Native interpreters, trained at Goa and able to speak Portuguese as well as Tamil, their mother tongue, he commenced his labours in the villages. Going about bell in hand he collected in every village a large concourse of people, whom he proceeded to instruct.

Estimate of Xavier.

It seems a pity that a man of such mental powers and devotedness as Xavier should have expended his strength and nearly the whole of his brief Indian life in the very rudimentary work described in his letters, and especially amongst people so ignorant and so destitute of influence in the Hindu community as the fisher people—that is, the Paravas on the eastern coast and the equivalent caste of fisher people, the Mukkuvas on the western coast—must then have been. It is to be remembered, however, that though a man of pre-eminent ability and of pre-eminent devotedness, he was not also a learned man. Up to the last he seems never to have been able to speak Tamil, but was always obliged to use the services of interpreters. In this particular he was less fitted to labour successfully as a missionary amongst Hindus than some of his successors of the same Society in Southern India, such as Robert de Nobili and Beschi (Italians) in the Tamil country, and Stephens (an Englishman), Arnold (an Italian), and Hanxleden (a German), on the western coast. On the other hand a Christian cannot but remember that Christ himself represented it as an evidence of the truth of His religion, that "to the poor the Gospel was preached."

In one of Xavier's letters, written to the Jesuit Society at Rome, of which he was a member, he gives a detailed account of his proceedings which has often been quoted. I here quote, however, only the conclusion.

"How great is the multitude of those who are gathered into the fold of Christ you may learn from this, that it often happens to me that my hands fail through the fatigue of baptizing; for I have baptized a whole village in a single day: and often, by repeating so frequently the Creed and other things, my voice and strength have failed me."

Visits from village to village.

Xavier adds that when he had sufficiently accomplished his work in one village he removed to another, till all those thirty villages had been visited.

"All being thus surveyed, my labour comes over again in the same order. In each village I leave one copy of the Christian Instruction. I appoint all to assemble on festival days, and to chant the rudiments of the Christian faith; and in each of the villages I appoint a fit per-

CHAPTER X. son to preside. For their wages the Viceroy, at my request, has assigned 4,000 gold fanams.[1]

The low moral condition of the Parava Christians at that time must have been a still greater trial to a man like Xavier than even their ignorance. The following extracts from a letter written in 1544 to his Assistant, Francis Mancias at Punnaikāyal, nearly two years after his labours amongst them commenced, will speak for themselves.

Xavier's administration.

"To proceed to other matters. As both reason and precedent teach us that it is often useful to employ force, in order to crush the obstinacy of the more rebellious among these people, who are subjects of His Portuguese Majesty, I send you an apparitor, whom I have obtained from the Viceroy. I have ordered him to inflict a fine of two silver pence, which is the amount of the coin they call a fanam, upon any woman who, in defiance of the public regulations, shall drench herself with the intoxicating drink they call arack; besides which, he shall imprison for three days all who are found guilty of such intemperance. You must see to the rigorous execution of this law in all the villages, and have it published in all the assemblies, so that no drunken woman when punished may plead ignorance.

"I cannot yet say when I shall be able to come to you; but, till then, you must enjoin the Patangats[2] to correct their wicked manners. Tell them, that if I find them still plunged in their old vices, I have made up my mind, in virtue of the power which I hold from the Viceroy, to have them apprehended, and carried in chains to Cochin; and they must not flatter themselves with the hope of being soon released with a slight punishment, for I am thoroughly resolved to employ every means in my power to prevent their ever returning to Punicael. It is quite evident that the fault and blame of all the crimes and villanies of which there are too many which disgrace this country rests with them alone.

"Take the greatest pains to discover the workshops where the idols are secretly made and carved."

Xavier's successor's death.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the Paravas nothing could exceed the devoted zeal with which Xavier laboured for their welfare. We had many illustrations of this in the account of the Portuguese Settlements contained in a preceding chapter, especially in connection with his efforts for the protection of his people from the Badages or Nāyakas. His mantle also seems to have fallen on some of his successors, for it is said that his immediate successor, Antonio Criminalis, when his people were attacked by the Badages, threw himself into their midst, covered his people's flight, and perished under the darts of the enemy. This event is said by some to have taken place at Maṇapār, by others at a place called

[1] Three and a half gold fanams were equivalent to a rupee.

[2] Paṭṭangkaṭṭi, the title of a headman amongst the Paravas and a few other castes.

Vēdālai near Paumben, but there is a much more distinct and credible tradition of its having taken place at Punnaikāyal, where, as we have seen, the Portuguese suffered a defeat in 1552, eight years after Xaxier left the coast. Criminalis is regarded by the Jesuits as the first martyr of their Society. A martyr to his people's welfare he certainly was, but hardly a martyr to the faith. He is said by some to have died in 1562.

THE PERIOD AFTER XAVIER.

There is much in the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries in the century subsequent to Xavier respecting the mission established in Madura in 1606 by the celebrated Robert de Nobili, his proceedings, and the discussions caused by his peculiar modes of work. Much light is also thrown by their letters on the political condition and history of the Madura country and Rāmnād, as may be seen in Nelson's Madura Manual; but unfortunately little has been found for almost an entire century respecting the progress of the mission in Tinnevelly, whether on the coast or in the interior. The principal exception is a notice of the condition of things in the missions on the coast contained in a book published in Spain in 1604; from which Dr. Burnell has been so kind as to furnish me with an extract.

Robt. de Nobili &c

Missions on the coast in 1600.

(Guerrero, Relacion Annal, Valladolid.) It states that there were then (in 1600) twenty members of the Society of Jesus in the mission, *viz.*, seventeen fathers and three brothers. The fathers were distributed over twenty-two parishes, sixteen of which were on the coast, six inland, including the residences at Madura, the court of the Nāyaka, the lord of those lands. Besides these there are others in the island of Manar. There are in all that coast more than 90,000 Christians (Barrello, Bishop of Cochin, puts down their number as above 60,000), and the fathers visit all the parishes and churches there, going from one to the other according to necessity, though the principal residences are in seven chief places.

Tuticorin.

The college of Tuticorin was the chief; in it resided three fathers and three lay-brothers. They did not attend to parochial work, as there was a Vicar with two Curates. The festivals were celebrated with much zeal, especially that of N. Senora de la Nieves. The church is still called by this name. The corresponding Tamil name is "Pani-maya-Mātā," "dew" (pani) replacing "snow." See Tuticorin under the Portuguese. "This year," 1600, "more than 700 communicated." Father Henrique Henriquez was buried in the church there and was commonly regarded as a saint. [It will be remembered that relief-houses were established by this missionary during a famine in 1570.]

He mentions the following statistics for 1600. Seventy-four

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were baptized in the college last year, 300 in Manar, 100 in Vypar, 15 in Priaparan (Periapaṭṭaṇam in the Rāmnād country ?), 100 in Vembar, 4 in Madura, 45 inland. In all 547, with about 50 others in other places. More attention, he says, was given to instructing converts already made than to making new converts.

The next notice I find is of the establishment of a congregation at Kaittār in the interior in 1640. There were probably congregations in the interior before this, seeing that 45 persons in inland places were baptized in 1600, but this is the first inland congregation the name of which I find mentioned.

KĀMAIYĀNĀYAKANPAṬṬI.

The next record I find is of the establishment of a congregation at Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi in 1660. In the same year, it will be seen, that Tuticorin, which had lately passed from the hands of the Portuguese to those of the Dutch, was visited by Baldens, whose statements show that the Paravas up to that time continued firmly attached to the religion taught them by Xavier.

Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi is a village in the Eṭṭaiyāpuram Zemindari. The following inscription cut on a stone preserved in the church at this place forms an interesting memorial of the period :—

Inscription.

"Year—year 865, the 19th day of the month Chitrā. We Jaga-vīra-Eṭṭappa Nāyakar Avargaḷ (make proclamation as follows): As in our father's days, twenty-five years ago, this church of God in our territory and the Maṭha of the ascetics of the city of Rome were preserved from harm, so also now we being resolved to do the same have visited this church and the priests and have given and set up this stone. Wherefore if any person should do any harm to this church of God or the priests, or their disciples, not only will he become a traitor to us, but let him also incur the guilt which would ensue from slaying a black cow and Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges. Thus we have ordained as long as sun and moon endure. Jaga-vīra-Eṭṭappa Nāyakar. May the Lord preserve (us)."

Date of inscription.

The era according to which time was calculated then in Tinnevelly was the Malabar or Quilon era, of which the 865th year synchronized with A.D. 1689-1690. The year commences in August —September. Consequently the early part of the following year, including Chitrā (April—May) belonged to 1690. The year of the Malabar era was preceded in the inscription by the year of the cycle of 60, but unfortunately the name of the year has been obliterated, only the letter p remains. The year of the cycle of 60 corresponding to the Malabar year 865, and commencing with the month of Chitrā, was the fourth year of the cycle, Piramōtūtha (Brahmōdūta).

Zemindar's name.

Jaga-vīra-Eṭṭappa Nāyaka is not a personal name, but a family title of the Poligars or Zemindars of Eṭṭaiyāpuram. The Poligar

of this inscription, that is of 1690, according to the family historian was Jaga-vīra-Rāma Kechila Eṭṭappa Nāyaka. His father to whom he refers was Jaga-vīra-Rāma Eṭṭappa Nāyaka. The troubles referred to as having taken place about 1690 and those which took place twenty-five years before (about 1665) appear to have been owing to the violence of the common people of the neighbourhood. On both occasions the Poligar himself, who was the only ruler in his territory, gave his help and sympathy to the Mission priests.

Origin of the troubles.

The first troubles appear to have taken place soon after the establishment of the congregation. The Portuguese had lately been expelled from Tuticorin by the Dutch and the priests of the coast congregations had been obliged to take refuge in the interior. This may have incited some of the people in the Poligar's territory, which was not far from Tuticorin, to take advantage of the downfall of the European friends of the priests and endeavour to drive them away from their stations.

It will be seen that later on, in 1715, the celebrated Beschi, who then ordinarily resided at Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi, was exposed to serious danger from the hostility of some people in the same Poligar's territory at a place a little further to the west.

CONDUCT OF THE DUTCH.

In a letter written by Father Martin in 1700, from which I have already made a quotation, illustrative of the condition of the town of Tuticorin, I find some reflections on the hard treatment the Paravas received at that time from the Dutch.

"Though the Dutch are not masters of the coast, they yet have often behaved in such a manner as if it had been entirely subject to them. Some years since they dispossessed the poor Paravas of their churches, which they turned into magazines (warehouses), and lodged their factors in the houses of the missionaries. The fathers were then forced to withdraw into the woods and there build themselves huts, in order that they might not abandon their flocks at a time when their presence was so necessary."

Intolerance of the Dutch.

This statement, from the point of view of the toleration generally prevalent at the present period, seems so extraordinary that one would naturally wish to hear the other side of the story. The other side has been given us by Baldaeus, an able Dutch Minister and Missionary, who visited Tuticorin in 1660, two years after it had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch. Unfortunately this other side is confirmatory of Martin's statement! Baldaeus says he found the priests of the Paravas very numerous. They were principally natives of Goa, and so absolute was their influence over this untutored people that they were able to counteract all his efforts to gain their attention. The Dutch had

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expelled the priests from the towns of Negapatam and Tuticorin, but they remained near enough to control the Paravas, who durst not enter the church when Baldaeus preached, though he preached in Portuguese. From another incident he mentions it appears that the Dutch had removed the images and other ornaments from the church and converted it to their own use, so that the Paravas would not enter it and preferred to say their prayers in the street. Later on we find that the Dutch had become more tolerant and erected churches for themselves. The date of the erection of their church in Tuticorin, now used by the English, is 1750.

BESCHI.

The Tinnevelly coast was the scene of the commencement of the missionary labours of Xavier. It was also, about 200 years afterwards, the scene of the termination of the labours, and also of the life, of Beschi, another celebrated missionary of the Society of Jesus. It now also appears that it was the scene of the commencement of his labours.

As a missionary Beschi belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. As a Tamil scholar and poet Protestants have always taken as much interest in his career as Roman Catholics, perhaps even more. A list of Beschi's numerous works, in verse and prose, in Tamil and Latin, will be found in the Madras Literary Journal for April 1840. The following estimate of his position in the Tamil world of letters is taken from the Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

Beschi as a Tamil scholar.

"The post of honour, not only in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when they flourished, but throughout the entire modern period, is to be assigned to two contemporary poets, one a native, the other a foreigner. The second of these, whose poems occupy a still higher place in literature, was the celebrated Beschi, not a Tamilian, like every other Tamil poet, but an Italian, a missionary priest of the Jesuit Society, who acquired such a mastery over Tamil, especially over its classical dialect, as no other European seems ever to have acquired over that or any other Indian language. His prose style in the colloquial dialect, though good, is not of pre-eminent excellence; but his poems in the classical dialect, especially his great poem, the Tēmbāvaṇi, a long and highly wrought religious epic in the style of the Chintāmaṇi, are so excellent—from the point of view of Hindu ideas of excellence; that is, they are so elaborately correct, so highly ornamented, so invariably harmonious—that I have no doubt he may fairly claim to be placed by the votes of impartial native critics themselves in the very first rank of the Tamil poets of the second class; and when it is remembered that the first class comprises only three, or at the utmost four works—the Kuraḷ, the Chintāmaṇi, the Rāmāyaṇam, the Nāladiyār—it seems to me, the more I think of it, the more wonderful that a foreigner should have achieved so distinguished

a position. Though the Tēmbāvaṇi possesses great poetical merit and exhibits an astonishing command of the resources of the language, unfortunately it is tinged with the fault of too close an adherence to the manner and style of 'the ancients'—that is, of the Tamil classics —and is still more seriously marred by the error of endeavouring to Hinduise the facts and narratives of Holy Scripture, and even the geography of Scripture, for the purpose of pleasing the Hindu taste. It is a remarkable illustration of the difference in the position occupied in India at present by poetry and prose respectively, that Beschi's poetry, however much admired, is now very little read, whilst his prose works, particularly his grammars and dictionaries of both the Tamil dialects, are in great demand."

Memoirs of Beschi.

It is surprising that, notwithstanding Beschi's great eminence, both as a missionary and as a Tamil scholar, no memoir of his life seems ever to have been written by any member of his own Society or by any European competent to do so. Many notices of his life are in print in English, but I have traced them all to one source, a Tamil memoir drawn up by a Roman Catholic native, who worked up all the traditions he found surviving amongst natives respecting Beschi seventy years after his death. He made some use of a meagre Tamil memoir published in Pondicherry in 1796 by one Sāminātha Pillai, but seems never to have consulted any European records. The native here referred to was A. Muttusāmi Pillai, "Manager of the College of Fort St. George," who in 1816-17 undertook a tour to the south, at the instance of Mr. Ellis, the celebrated Tamil scholar, for the purpose of procuring a collection of Beschi's works. In the course of this tour he states that he collected from the children of Beschi's disciples and others many particulars respecting his life. In 1822 at the request of Mr. Babington and Mr. Clarke, members of the College Board, he published in Tamil the life of Beschi to which I have referred, with a catalogue of his works and extracts from some of the principal; and at the request of Mr. (now Sir Walter) Elliot, a somewhat abbreviated translation of this Tamil memoir was made into English, by the author himself, helped by two English Roman Catholic Missionaries, and published in the number for April 1840 of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society. We have every reason to suppose that the author of this memoir was right in regard to the principal facts of Beschi's life, but it seems certain that he was in error in regard to the dates both of Beschi's arrival in India and of his death. This would very naturally happen in the case of a native, however intelligent, who had no access to records, or who did not think it necessary for his purpose to consult such as were to be had.

Errors in regard to date.

For the dates and other particulars which follow I am indebted to extracts from letters to the Society at Rome and other authentic records kindly supplied me, through the good offices of the Rev.

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Paul Rottari, S.J., by the Rev. N. Pouget, S.J. They have never yet, so far as I am aware, appeared in English.

Constantius Beschi was born at Castiglione in Italy on the 8th November 1680. On the 21st October 1698, being eighteen years of age, he entered the Society of Jesus.

His native biographer states that he arrived in India in 1700, but Fr. Pouget shows that this was impossible. He must have passed two years in novitiate and then engaged in theological studies for four years. No member of the Society of Jesus is ordained priest before he is twenty-five years of age. He cannot, therefore, have sailed for India before 1706. The voyage at that time occupied at least six months; and after he reached Goa it would be considered necessary, according to the custom of the time, that he should remain there one or two years learning Tamil, the language of the district to which he was to be appointed. It seems probable, therefore, it is said, that he did not commence his missionary career in Tinnevelly before 1710. For my own part, accepting the data that have been mentioned 1708 seems the latest date that can be assigned for his arrival in Tinnevelly. His Tamil biographer says that he spent five years in learning Tamil. It might be said, doubtless, with still greater truth of so devoted a scholar that he was learning Tamil as long as he lived. In whatever year his career as a missionary actually commenced, it cannot now be doubted that it commenced in Tinnevelly, and it is equally certain that it was to Tinnevelly that he came to breathe his last.

Beschi's stations.

We pass out of the region of probabilities into that of certainties when we mention that Brandolini, who founded the congregation at Vaḍakankuḷam in Tinnevelly in 1714, states that in the years 1714, 1715, and 1716 Beschi was stationed at Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi in Tinnevelly, from which place he often visited Kaittār. Kaittār, then a more important place than it is now, is situated on the road from Palamcotta to Madura, 18 miles from Palamcotta. Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi lies to the north-east, in the Eṭṭiāpuram Zemindari. Beschi was imprisoned by the Brahmans at Gurukkalpaṭṭi, and they were about to put him to death, when he was rescued by the Christians of Kaittār. Gurukkalpaṭṭi is a village near Ālankuḷam in the Sangaranainārkōvil Taluk. Beschi himself relates this incident in a letter to the General Superior of the Society dated Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi, 12th January 1715. I felt doubtful at first whether it could be true that Brahmans could have really intended to put him to death, but I find that there is a distinct tradition to that effect surviving amongst the Native Christians in all these villages. The village of Gurukkalpaṭṭi belongs to Brahmans and is inhabited partly by Brahmans. They themselves admit that they have heard that their forefathers pulled down a maṭha erected by Beschi and drove him out of their

His life in danger.

village, together with a Brahman convert he had made. They show the ruins of the maṭha he erected. Shortly after this event Beschi seems to have left for the north. In 1716 he was in Madura, but there is no record of his stay there; and in 1720 we find him, where we ever find him afterwards, near Trichinopoly. The place where he then was stationed was Vaḍugarpaṭṭi. The annual letters between 1720 and 1729 were unfortunately lost, but in 1729 we find him at Āvūr, near Trichinopoly, where he seems generally to have resided.

Beschi acquired his Tamil in Tinnevelly.

It has always been known from Muttuswāmi Pillai's memoirs that Beschi terminated his course in Tinnevelly, but it was never known till now that it was in Tinnevelly also that he commenced his career. We now know that Tinnevelly can claim him for the first five years, probably for the first seven, of his missionary life; and as it was necessarily during those years that he laid the foundation of his marvellous knowledge of Tamil and his still more marvellous skill in making use of the knowledge he acquired, Tinnevelly might almost seem to have the right of classing him amongst her literary celebrities. Unfortunately for this claim, however, it does not appear that any of his compositions, whether in prose or in verse, was written in Tinnevelly. His greatest work, the Tēmbāvaṇi, was published in 1726, to which the explanation of the same by himself was added in 1729. His Vēdiaroḻukkam, an excellent prose work for the use of catechists, was written in 1727.

According to the custom then, as now, prevailing amongst Jesuit Missionaries, Beschi adopted a native name. This was Dhairyanātha Svāmi(yār), a translation of his own Christian name Constantius. After the publication of his Tēmbāvaṇi he received, we are told, from the poets of the Tamil country the title by which he is now universally known amongst natives. This was Vīramahā-muni (in Tamil Vīramāmunivar), the "Great Champion Devotee." This name is not by any means so well suited to one who was above all things a scholar as that of Tattvabōdhaka Swāmi, "the Philosophical Doctor," was to the metaphysical tastes of Robert de Nobili.

Dewan to Chanda Saheb.

During four of the later years of his life, from 1736 to 1740, Beschi seems to have been employed as Dewan to Chanda Saheb, whose treacherous seizure of Trichinopoly, and therewith of authority over the whole Madura country, has been mentioned in the political history as the event by which the Nāyaka dynasty was brought to an end. Chanda Saheb became by this stroke of state a Nawab and virtually a rival to the Nawab of the Carnatic. Beschi's native biographer states that in order to fit himself for an interview with Chanda Saheb, Beschi learned the Persian and Hindustani languages in the short space of three months, and that

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Chanda Saheb was so much struck with his attainments and ability that he presented him with the revenues of four villages and appointed him to be his Dewan or Prime Minister. I do not see any reason for doubting the substantial truth of this statement, which is confirmed by the circumstance that Beschi's visit to Chanda Saheb in 1736 is mentioned in a letter to Europe. In 1740 he paid a visit to Daust Ali Khān, the real Nawab of the Carnatic at that time, at Vellore, to whom he presented some European curiosities and a letter addressed to him, the Nawab, by the General Superior of the Jesuits, dated at Rome, 29th October 1739.

Chanda Saheb was besieged in Trichinopoly in 1740 by the Mahrattas under their two Generals Raghuji Bhonslai and Futta Sing. He surrendered the fortress to them in March 1741, and was by them sent prisoner to Sattara. Beschi's native biographer represents Beschi as escaping from Trichinopoly on his master's surrender, but letters written at the time to Europe state that before that event, as soon as the Mahrattas arrived in 1740, all the missionaries, Beschi apparently included, had to leave the districts which the Mahrattas occupied and flee to the south. On Chanda Saheb's surrender the Mahrattas appointed one of their Generals, Morari Row, Governor of Trichinopoly, and another, Appaji Row, Governor of Madura, and therefore of Tinnevelly. The whole country, except in so far as the Poligars, who cared little for any rulers, were concerned, was now in the hands of the Mahrattas, who were zealots for Hinduism, and enraged against Chanda Saheb, both as a Muhammadan and as a usurper. The missionaries were supposed to be on the side of Chanda Saheb, and the Mahrattas were not likely to show much consideration for Chanda Saheb's Dewan if he fell into their hands. Naturally, therefore, he would endeavour to make his escape at the earliest opportunity. It is stated in the letters to Europe that Beschi fled first to the Marava country, that is, to Rāmnād, and then to the sea-coast. The place in the Marava country where he lived for a time is not known, but both his native biographer and the letters written at the time to Europe agree as to the place on the sea-coast where he took up his abode. This was Maṇapār (Maṇapāḍu) on the Tinnevelly coast (literally Maṇal-pāḍu, the sandy lagoon), then a Dutch possession, a small fishing and trading town, with a considerable Roman Catholic population, and far away from the reach of hostilities. It is certain from authentic records that Beschi was "Rector" of Maṇapār in 1744 and that he died there in 1746. This was in the 66th year of his age and the 40th of his residence in India. It is very probable that Maṇapār was the first place in the Tamil country where Beschi resided after he left Goa, in consequence of which he might naturally wish to end his days

Flight of Beschi on the approach of the Mahrattas.

Beschi's last days at Maṇapār.

there ; in addition to which it is to be remembered that the Dutch, to whom Maṇapār belonged, were always more or less inclined to range themselves on the side opposed to that espoused by the English, and therefore likely to be willing to take under their protection a friend of Chanda Saheb's, who had fled to them from the Mahrattas. The Dutch were Protestants, it is true, but they had learned by that time to be tolerant. It has been supposed by some that the Maṇapār where Beschi died was the Maṇapār, properly Maṇapārai, near Trichinopoly. For this idea however there is no foundation. The people of Maṇapārai themselves, including the Roman Catholic Missionary of the place, admit that Beschi died at Maṇapār in Tinnevelly.

His death.

Beschi did not long survive his arrival in Maṇapār. He resided there, his native biographer says, in the maṭha of the Society of Jesus, occupying his time in expounding his works and giving instruction in divine things. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it is certain it was in 1746. Thus peacefully ended the career of the most learned, if not the most renowned, of the great Jesuit missionaries of former times.

Beschi's grave.

He is said to have been buried in the chancel of the church at Maṇapār, but the oldest of the churches is now completely buried in the sand. There must be at least fifteen feet of sand over it, and the people say that no tomb-stone was erected to mark the place where Beschi's remains lay, and that in the same chancel other missionaries also were buried. Some again say that when the second church was erected two sets of bones were taken from the chancel of the older church and interred in the chancel of the later one, but without any record to show whose bones they were. One may safely say, I think, that Beschi was not much appreciated by the fishery people at Maṇapār. If he had cared to acquire the reputation of a worker of miracles, doubtless his tomb would have been carefully preserved.

PERIOD AFTER BESCHI.

Some years after Beschi's death troubles began to gather round the Missions of the Jesuits all over the world. In 1755 the support of the missionaries from Europe ceased. In 1760 the Jesuits at Goa were deported to Lisbon by Pombal's orders. The Jesuits that remained in Tinnevelly at Vaḍakankuḷam, Tāḷai, Maṇapār, Virapāṇḍiyanpaṭṭanam, &c., died one by one, and their places were supplied by native priests from Goa. In 1773 the Society of Jesus was formally suppressed by the then Pope, Clement XIV. In 1814 the Society was restored by Pope Pius VII, and in 1838 two Jesuit Missionaries, Fathers Martin and Duranquet, arrived in Palamcotta to recommence their ancient mission in Tinnevelly.

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"Tinnevelly has always been attached to the Madura Mission, the history of which, associated with the names of Fathers Robert de Nobili, de Brito, Banchet, Arland, from 1616 to 1748 is of much interest. At the latter date it was estimated that there were 385,000 Christians in the eastern part of India; then, as above stated, there followed the suppression of the Jesuits, by which the Madura Mission was for the time destroyed. About the year 1831 the restoration and return of the Jesuits to Madura took place and the Mission recommenced afresh."—*Stuart's Tinnevelly Manual, page* 62.

PART II.

MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SWARTZ.

A mission had been commenced in Tinnevelly before the close of the eighteenth century, but very little had occurred to warrant any expectation of the progress the mission was destined to make. At first the Tinnevelly Mission was merely an offshoot of that in Tanjore. The first reference to missionary work in Tinnevelly in connection with the Missions of the Church of England appears in the memoirs of the celebrated Swartz, a man of apostolical simplicity, devotedness, and zeal. This was in 1771. Swartz notices Palamcotta in his journal of that year as "a fort and one of the chief towns in Tinnevelly, belonging to the Nawab, but having an English garrison." He mentions the fact that there were a few Christians there then. Swartz first visited Palamcotta in 1778, when the widow of a Brahman was baptized by him. Her name (Clorinda) appears at the head of the small list of 40 persons constituting the Palamcotta congregation in 1780. Soon after she set herself to erect a small church in the fort, and this she succeeded in doing through the help of two English gentlemen. This was the first church connected with the Church of England ever erected south of Trichinopoly. It was dedicated to the worship of God by Swartz in 1785, when he found that the little congregation had increased, in consequence of which he sent from Tanjore an able catechist, Satyanâthan, to take care of it.

Swartz.

Congregation and Church in Palamcotta.

JAENICKE.

The congregation in Palamcotta continuing to increase and openings presenting themselves in the surrounding country Swartz became desirous of sending a European Missionary to take charge of the infant mission. This desire he was able to gratify in 1791, when Jaenicke, a German like himself, but like himself a mission-

ary of an English Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the precursor in India of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), arrived in Palamcotta and commenced his labours. By that time the number of Native Christians in Palamcotta and the neighbourhood had increased to 403. Even at this early period education had not been neglected. From the time of Swartz's visit in 1784, as they have done ever since, the congregation and the school went hand-in-hand. Satyanāthan, the Palamcotta catechist, had now been ordained in Tanjore, and returned to Palamcotta a few months before Jaenicke's arrival. He was a man of ability, who left his mark in the district. He was the first Native Minister ever located in Tinnevelly, and it was through him, as will be seen, that a Christian movement amongst the Shanars commenced. Jaenicke, though not so distinguished a man as Xavier and Beschi, the two great Roman Catholic missionaries referred to in the previous pages, would have been quite able to hold his own with any of the rest of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Tinnevelly of that period. His journals show that he was a devout, zealous, and prudent man, well fitted in every way for laying the foundations of a mission, but unfortunately his stay in Tinnevelly was short. In the beginning of January 1792, only a few months after his arrival in Palamcotta, he went out on a tour in the neighbourhood of the hills, in company with Mr. Torin, the Collector, who was then making his first official visit as Collector of the Nawab's Revenue in the East India Company's behalf, in virtue of the Treaty of 1792. The party visited Kaḷakādu, Pāpanāsam, and other places along the range of the hills, besides penetrating into the hill country, as far as the falls of Bāṇatīrttam. On the 12th of February Jaenicke visited Courtallam, and on the 25th returned to Palamcotta. On the 1st of March jungle fever of a severe type set in. Many other members of the party were attacked by the same fever, of which several died. Apparently it was not then known to Europeans that it was unsafe to be much amongst the hills at that season of the year. Yet only a few years later (in 1800), General Welsh mentioned it as a well known fact that the hills were safe to Europeans only during the rains of the south-west monsoon. Jaenicke struggled on with the fever for many months, carrying on his work at the same time indefatigably and with considerable success. In the course of the year he visited Tuticorin and Maṇapār, both of which places then belonged to the Dutch, in each of which he found a Native congregation under the care of a Catechist. The congregation at Maṇapār, consisting chiefly of weavers, was at that time the largest in Tinnevelly. The Governor of Tuticorin at that time was a Mr. Meckern, who was very friendly to Jaenicke and desirous of helping him in all his plans. As the fever continued

Satyanāthan.

Fever caught in the hills.

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and became aggravated, Jaenicke found it necessary in the end of 1792 to leave Tinnevelly and return to Tanjore for a time. He arrived in Tanjore after an absence of one year and two days.

From this time till his death in May 1800 Jaenicke generally resided at Rāmnād, where he erected a church, or at Tanjore, making occasional visits to Palamcotta as his strength allowed, but he kept up a regular correspondence with Satyanāthan, the Native Minister.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE SHANARS.

The most important event of the time was the commencement, in 1797, of that movement towards Protestant Christianity amongst the Shanars in Tinnevelly, which has, directly or indirectly, contributed so largely to the improvement of the district, and which has been the precursor of so many similar movements in different parts of the country.

First Shanar convert.

It had long been known that a certain Sundaram, *alias* David, had been the first Shanar catechist, but I have ascertained also that he was the first Shanar Protestant Christian, and that it was through him that Christianity was introduced amongst the Shanars in Tinnevelly. David's birth-place was Kālangudi, a small village near Sāttānkulam, but he wandered off in early youth as far as Tanjore, and there became a Christian and was baptized and instructed by Mr. Kohlhoff. In 1796, in consequence of of Satyanāthan's application for an assistant, Swartz, knowing that David belonged to that neighbourhood, sent him to Palamcotta as a catechist. Jaenicke was in Palamcotta when David arrived and entered upon his work. After a short time David went to visit his relatives, who had long given him up as dead, and told them all the wonders he had seen and heard. On his return to Palamcotta he brought with him a young nephew, whom Jaenicke proceeded to instruct. Shortly after this David was sent out to Vijayarāmapuram, a village near his birth-place, to labour amongst his relations there and in the neighbourhood, and some Tanjore catechists also rendered their assistance from time to time. In March 1797 Satyanāthan visited the place himself, when four families of Shanars placed themselves formally under Christian instruction and under his pastoral care.

Establishment of Mudalūr.

In a subsequent visit some converts belonging to the same class were baptized at a place called Shaṇmukhapuram, near the place now called Kaḍātchapuram. These were the first Shanars baptized. The Vijayarāmapuram people were also baptized during the same year. Two years afterwards the first Christian village was founded in connection with the Tinnevelly Mission. The new Christians in Vijayarāmapuram found themselves exposed to

many annoyances from their non-Christian neighbours. Their little prayer-house was twice pulled down, and they were obliged to assemble for worship under the shade of a tree. At length they determined to abandon the village where they had been so unkindly treated. A piece of land was purchased for them by David a few miles off, near the village of Aḍaiyal, where a well was dug and a little church erected, chiefly through the help obtained from a Captain Everett in Palamcotta. The land was purchased in August 1799 in Mr. Jaenicke's name. As this little settlement was the first place in Tinnevelly which could be called a Christian village, it received the name of Mudalūr, "first-town." The population of the village at the commencement of the century amounted to only twenty-eight souls. It now contains upwards of 1,200. These interesting facts about the commencement of the movement towards Christianity amongst the Shanars in Tinnevelly and the founding of Mudalūr had well nigh passed into oblivion. I discovered them in Tanjore in a bundle of Tamil letters that had been addressed by Satyanāthan and others to Jaenicke. He had been regularly informed by Satyanāthan of every thing that occurred, and the answers to his queries with which Satyanāthan's letters are filled show that, though absent in body, he was present in spirit. He was permitted to see this new field of labour from a distance only, nad though it was then but a day of small things, he must have rejoiced to see this confirmation of the opinion he was led to form on first commencing his labours in the south, that of all the districts with which he was acquainted, Tinnevelly was that in which Christianity was most likely to prevail.

Hough.

The revival of Jaenicke's Mission, after years of neglect, by the arrival of missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the establishment of the missions of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevelly, were mainly owing to the representations and efforts of the Rev. J. Hough, Chaplain at Palamcotta from 1816 to 1820; but this portion of history falls far behind the date of the cession of the province to the English in 1801, the date at which these annals cease.

Additional information on this subject will be found in the author's "Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission."

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

RELATIONS BETWEEN TRAVANCORE AND TINNEVELLY.

ADJACENT districts, like Tinnevelly and Travancore, must necessarily have stood at different times in different relations to one another. Generally, however, those relations seem to have been peaceable. During the early Pāṇḍya and Chōla period the southern Tamil-speaking district of Travancore, called Nānji-nāḍu, together with Purattāya-nāḍu, the district in which Cape Comorin is included, appear to have belonged to the Pāṇḍya kingdom. At a later period, during the decay of the Pāṇḍyas, this state of things was reversed and the southern portion of Tinnevelly seems to have been included in what is now called the kingdom of Travancore, but which was then generally called in Tinnevelly merely Kuḍa-nāḍu, the western kingdom, a synonym for Malayāḷam in general. Each of these changes rests on the evidence of inscriptions, but in neither case is there any trace or tradition of the change having been effected by force of arms. The weaker side for the time being seems to have quietly given place to the stronger.

Alternations of Government in the southern districts.

I have mentioned already from time to time such particulars, illustrative of the relation subsisting between Tinnevelly and Travancore, as seemed to be necessary for the comprehension of Tinnevelly history, but I here subjoin the notices I find in P. Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*, in which events are narrated from a more distinctively Travancorian point of view. In a few cases I may seem to go over the same ground, but it will be found that the Travancore accounts are fuller and more numerous.

Travancore Possessions in Tinnevelly in the 15th and 16th Centuries proved by Inscriptions.

"1. An inscription on the inner stone wall of the (Shermadevy) Chera Mahā-Devi Pagoda, dated Malayalam or Kollum year 614 (1439 A.D.), commemorating a grant by the Travancore king Chera Oodiah Marthanda Vurmah to the pagoda at that place while the grantor was residing in the Chera Mahā-Devi Palace.

"2. $\frac{644 \text{ M E.}}{1469 \text{ A D.}}$ On the large bell at Thrikanankudy (Tirukurungudi), denoting that the bell was presented by the Travancore king Adithiya Vurmah.

"3. $\frac{685 \text{ M E.}}{1510 \text{ A D}}$ Commemorating a grant to the pagoda by king Marthanda Vurmah while residing in the Veera Pandyan Palace at Kalatcaud.

Inscriptions in Tinnevelly.

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"4. $\frac{688 \text{ M.E.}}{1513 \text{ A.D.}}$ Commemorating a grant of land to the pagoda at Mannarkovil by the same king Marthanda Vurmah, and also making provisions for lighting a lamp in the palace where the king's uncle died.

"5. $\frac{707 \text{ M.E.}}{1532 \text{ A.D.}}$ Commemorating a grant of land to the pagoda of Chera-Chola Pandyēswaram in Thrikaloor near Alwar Tinnevelly, by Marthanda Vurmah, Rajah of Travancore."—Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*, pp. 34, 35.

The Mannārkōvil mentioned in the fourth inscription is a village in the Ambāsamudram Taluk.

Shermadevy.

Shermadevy is properly Chēran-Mahā-dēvi, that is, (the temple of) the Mahā-dēvī, that is, Pārvati, worshipped by the Chēran, the king of the Western or Malayalam State. It is stated by the Travancore historian that the king of Chera occasionally resided there.

"In Chera-Maha-Devi, Thencasi, Kalacaud, Thrikanankudy, Valliyoor, &c., the Travancore Rajahs resided up to the seventeenth century, a fact clearly proved by documents and inscriptions."—p. 34.

Referring to the reign of Chēra Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā, who reigned, it is said, for 62 years, from 1382 to 1444, the historian says:—

"During the reign of this sovereign all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevelly side were regained, and the sovereign often resided at Valliyoor and Chēran-Mahā-Dēvī.

Gains and losses.

"In consequence of the mild and unwarlike disposition of this king, some of the subordinate chiefs in the east became refractory, and there was constant fighting, and latterly, while this sovereign was residing at Trevandrum, the chief of Rettiapuram invaded Valliyoor, and the king's nephew being defeated in battle, fearing disgrace, committed suicide.

"In these places, several grants of land made by this Kulasekhara Perumal remain, some of which we have already noticed. Chēra-Mahā-Dēvi was his favourite residence, and consequently, this sovereign was called Chera Udaya Marthanda Vurmah.

"Towards the close of his reign, suspecting unfair proceedings on the part of the chief men of the Pandyan State, the residence of the Royal family was removed to Elayadathunaud Hottarakaray; and a Governor was appointed to rule Valliyoor and other possessions in the east.

"This sovereign died in 619 M.E. (1444 A.D.), at the ripe age of seventy-eight years."—p. 95.

Travancore annals when historical.

From the commencement of the 18th century the Travancore annals become historical. Prior to that time they are evidently more or less legendary.

The author admits that "from 1458 to 1680, a period of about two and a quarter centuries, no detailed accounts of the reigns of the sovereigns can be found, except a list of their names, the dates of their accession to the musnud, and the period of their reign."

Appeal for help to the Nāyakas of Madura, whose headquarters were at that time in Trichinopoly. APPENDIX I.

" His Highness was a close observer of the difficulties and dangers to which his nephew was subjected by the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and Madempimar, and he was determined to punish them for their disloyalty and rebellious conduct.

Appeal to Trichinopoly for help.

" His Highness, in consultation with his intelligent nephew, proceeded in 901 M.E (1726 A.D.) to Trichinopoly with some of the officers of the State. He entered into a treaty with the Madura Government and secured its support by offering to renew the lapsed attachment to that crown, and to bind himself to pay a certain sum of money annually. At the same time, a suitable force was applied for to punish and bring to their senses the Madempimar and other refractory chiefs. After some discussion and preliminary enquiries, the sovereign was successful in obtaining a force consisting of one thousand cavalry, under the command of M. Vencatapathy Naiken, and two thousand Carnatic sepoys, headed by Thripathy Naiken, and others, in charge of fifty sirdars, including Raghava Iyen and Subba Iyen, &c.

"On the arrival of this force in Travancore, all the Madempimar and other refractory chiefs and insurgents fled, and consequently there was no work for the army, which was however retained for the purpose of overawing the insurgents."—History, p. 109.

" The late Rama Vurmah Rajah was compelled in 901 M.E. to proceed to the Pandyan (Nayaka) capital (Trichinopoly), and to enter into an agreement with the Pandyan Government, by which he promised to pay an annual tribute of about 3,000 rupees and obtained from the Governor a force of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, for the purpose of overawing the turbulent chiefs and nobles.

Trichinopoly Contingent.

" The pay of this contingent, as well as the annual tribute, was in arrears for a few months, when the Maha Rajah ascended the throne, and on the demand of the troops for their pay and the tribute, His Highness referred them to his Dalawah, Arumugam Pillay, who, on delaying payment, was seized and removed to Thrikanamkudy by the force, whereupon he borrowed money from the Kottar merchants and others, and adjusted most part of the pressing demands. The Dalawah was however still detained by the force at Thrikanamkudy.[1]

"In the meanwhile His Highness commissioned Cumaraswamy Pillay, the Commander-in-Chief, and Thanu Pillay, his assistant, to raise an army of Maravers and a few hundred horse, to raise up barriers in the shape of mud walls between Kadakaray and Mantharamputhur Aramboly, and Cape Comorin; to construct special gates for passages, and to guard them by companies of Maravers and troopers. These arrangements were effectually carried out in the course of a few months, and Travancore was secured against the attacks of foreign invaders.

Maravar troops.

" Cumaraswamy Pillay, with a force of Maravers, was then ordered by the Maha Rajah to proceed to Thrikanamkudy for the purpose of releasing the Dalawah, and that brave officer executed the command

[1] Tirukurunguḍi, a town in the south of Tinnevelly.

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with promptness and vigour. The Maha Rajah was extremely pleased with him, as he had by this exploit extricated the Dalawah from a painfully embarrassing position, and removed the burden of care and anxiety that weighed upon his head.

"The Maha Rajah then thought that he could safely do away with the Trichinopoly force and ordered it to march back to that town. His Highness communicated his resolution to the Pandyan Government, and requested the Governor to release His Highness from the conditions entered into with the former by the late Maha Rajah.

A rival embassy to Trichinopoly.

"The feudatory chiefs and nobles, after the withdrawal of the Trichinopoly contingent force, began to rebel again, and as they had always been striving to get their independence, they combined and formed a confederacy as before, and were joined by the two sons of the late sovereign, known by the names of Kunju Thambies *alias* Papu Thamby and Ramen Thamby, who held high rank among the nobles during the lifetime of their father and were in affluent circumstances. But they were now reduced to the level of the ordinary nobles of the country and they felt their degradation keenly. The confederates sympathised with them, and considering them proper instruments for overthrowing the royal authority, they persuaded them to claim their father's throne; and one of them (Papu Thamby) being furnished with sufficient means, proceeded to Trichinopoly in 905 M.E. (1730 A.D.), and represented to the Pandyan Governor his imaginary grievances, saying that great injustice was done to him by the kingdom being forcibly usurped by Marthanda Vurmah. He entered into certain terms with that chief to put him in possession of the kingdom. The Governor, annoyed by the refusal of payment of the peishkush and the dismissal of the contingent forces by Marthanda Vurmah Maha Rajah, readily listened to Papu Thamby's false representations.

"The Governor ordered one of his agents Alagappa Moodelliar to proceed with a sufficient number of men and horses to Travancore, and institute enquiries into the claims of Papu Thamby, giving him authority to enforce the same if found valid.

"The Moodelliar set out from Trichinopoly, accompanied by Papu Thamby and arrived at Udayagherry, where he commenced to institute the enquiry into the claims of the Thamby. The Maha Rajah, on learning this, deputed the State Secretary Rama Iyen and his assistant Narayana Iyen to the Moodelliar, and they were furnished with valid documents to prove the absurdity and fictitious character of Papu Thamby's claims.

"While Papu Thamby was utterly unable to produce any documentary evidence in support of his pretended rights, Rama Iyen fully proved the claims of the Maha Rajah to his uncle's throne. The Moodelliar was very indignant with Papu Thamby, and his false complaint was at once rejected. He was told that he should be loyal and obedient to his king in accordance with the customs of the country.

"The Maha Rajah informed the Moodelliar of the renewed outbreak of a rebellious spirit among his chiefs, and asked him to place one half of his force at His Highness' disposal. The Moodelliar complied with this request and returned to Trichinopoly loaded with presents.

"Though the Maha Rajah was enraged with the conduct of the Kunju Thambies and the chiefs and nobles, yet His Highness pretended to be indifferent about the matter. As His Highness had the strong support of the Trichinopoly force, besides his own Maraver troops, he directed his attention to certain important affairs of government in which he was engaged before the peace of his kingdom was menaced by the plots of his enemies."—*History of Travancore*, pp. 115–118.

Help obtained from Tinnevelly Maravas.

Aid from Tinnevelly Poligars.

"Notwithstanding the death of the Rajah, the spirit of the Kayemkulam army was not thoroughly broken, for the fallen Rajah's younger brother succeeded, and he being more obstinate and courageous than his late brother, the war was continued with redoubled vigour. The Maha Rajah repaired to Quilon, accompanied by the heir apparent, who infused fresh courage into the Travancore army. A special body of recruits was raised for the war with Kayemkulam. Secretary Rama Iyen, finding that the army in the field could not successfully withstand the Kayemkulam force without sufficient reinforcement, proceeded to Tinnevelly, brought a regiment of Maravers under the command of Ponnam Pandya Deven, procured a thousand mounted sepoys from some of the Palayapattucar (Poligars), and marched the reinforcement by the hill roads through Kottarakaray. After holding a consultation among the officers, including the Dalaway and the Sthanapathy, Rama Iyen assumed the chief command of the army. In the battle the next day he distinguished himself with signal success, and the Kayemkulam force met with a defeat for the first time. But the war continued, and Rama Iyen's army began to gain ground slowly and to advance into the Kayemkulam territories day by day."

Annexations in Tinnevelly.

"In 909 M.E. (1734 A.D.) the Maha Rajah annexed Elayada Swaroopam, embracing Shencottah, Clangaud, Kerkudi, Valliyoor, on the Tinnevelly side, and Kottarakaray, Pathanapuram, &c., on the northern limits of Travancore. The Rajah Veera Kerala Vurmah, who was in charge of those territories, was a relative of Travancore and died leaving as his successor a princess. The administration of the State was conducted by a Sarvadhikariakar, a very unscrupulous person, and anarchy began to prevail in the province. The Maha Rajah called the minister to Trevandrum and pointed out to him various instances of mal-administration and banished him from the country in disgrace. A proper and fit man was appointed to the responsible post of Sarvadhikariakar to the State, and the Maha Rajah took the government of the principality into his own hands, advising the Ranee to come and reside at Trevandrum, or to remain at Kottarakaray in her own palace as she pleased. The Ranee preferred the latter course."—p. 129.

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Irruption of Chunda Sahib and Bada Sahib.

"About this time, a strong party of marauders, headed by Chunda Sahib and Bada Sahib, relatives of Dost Ali Khan, the Nabob of Arcot, who were permitted to wander about for the purpose of securing a principality for the Nabob's son, and also to plunder for themselves in the dominions of the native princes, entered the territories of Travancore by the Aramboly gate. They took possession of Nagercoil, Sucheendrum, and the rich town of Kottar: they plundered the shrine at Sucheendrum; burnt the great car; mutilated many of the images of the pagoda; and perpetrated many other deeds of atrocity and devastation, the favourite process generally adopted by the Mussulman chiefs.

Invasion of Chunda Sahib.

"Rama Iyen Dalawah was ordered to march an army and drive the marauders out of Travancore, but on meeting them he found them powerful in horse, and his own force no match for the Mussulmans. However, the Dalawah challenged them and commenced a battle, but his exertions were not attended with his usual success. But the Dalawah had reason to know that the object of the party was principally to secure pecuniary gain, and consequently they were made to retreat without offering resistance to his army."—p. 138.

The enemy bought off.

Collision with the Nawab.

"During the continuance of war in North Travancore, several changes took place in the government of the Pandyan provinces, including Madura, Trichinopoly, &c., and the sovereignty finally fell into the hands of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Maha Rajah's attention having been directed, for a long time past, to the management of the internal affairs of his kingdom and the suppression of the rebellion in the north, he had neglected adopting measures for the protection and maintenance of his eastern possessions, including Valliyoor, Kalacaud, &c. The Nabob's Governor at Trichinopoly took advantage of this opportunity and annexed those tracts to the Madura province, and thus the Maha Rajah was deprived of those places for a long time.

Possessions in Tinnevelly lost.

"In 927 M.E. (1752 A.D.) Moodemiah, the Nabob's Viceroy at Trichinopoly, growing powerful, established himself as an independent chief, and being a very covetous man, disposed of villages and territories on receiving sufficient consideration for them. The Maha Rajah, understanding this disposition of Moodemiah, deputed Rama Iyen Dalawah to Tinnevelly, where Moodemiah had arrived on a visit. The Dalawah represented the Maha Rajah's ancient claims to the territories in the east. Possession of the country lying between Cape Comorin and Kalacaud, to the extent of about 30 miles, including Valliyoor, was obtained for a sufficiently large consideration. Rama Iyen Dalawah returned to Trevandrum after stationing about 2,000 of the Travancore Maha Rajah's force at Kalacaud, for the protection of the districts thus purchased by Travancore.

Negotiations.

"In 930 M.E. (1755 A.D.) Mahomed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic, wished to supplant Moodemiah, who had proved refractory and had

proclaimed himself the sole ruler of the Pandyan empire. The Nabob appointed his General, Maphuz Khan, to supersede Moodemiah, and sent him with a small force requesting the Nabob's allies, the English at Madras, to send a detachment to assist the Khan, not only in assuming his office, but also in bringing the inhabitants into subjection. Colonel Heron, with 500 Europeans and 2,000 Natives, was ordered to Trichinopoly under the pretext of assisting Maphuz Khan, but probably the English too had an eye on the beautiful and highly productive Pandyan empire, comprising the rich countries of Madura, Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly. The allied forces arrived at Tinnevelly Kumbham 930 M.E. (March 1755 A.D.) after having reduced Madura on their way. When this intelligence reached Kalacaud the Travancore garrison, consisting of 2,000 sepoys stationed in that fort, was alarmed and finding that they were no match for the combined forces of the Nabob and the English, the Travancore commandant abandoned the fort and Kalacaud, and withdrew the garrison to Thovalay. In Meenam-madom (April) Maphuz Khan, after taking charge of the fort and establishing his authority there, went to Tinnevelly and Colonel Heron returned with the English force to Trichinopoly.

Travancorians retreat from Kalakaḍu.

"Moodemiah, who fled from Tinnevelly after his defeat, found an asylum under the protection of Pulithaver, a Poligar, and on the departure of the English troops from Tinnevelly to Trichinopoly, he applied to the Maha Rajah for assistance and urged on him to take back the lost territory of Kalacaud. Pulithaver also offered his resistance, as that Poligar was for a long time dependent on Travancore. A strong force, consisting of 2,000 infantry and an equal number of cavalry, was despatched from Travancore, accompanied by the prince and Moodemiah, and without much resistance Kalacaud was taken. The Maha Rajah, however, thinking that such a proceeding would offend the English Government, ordered the withdrawal of his troops for some time, and postponed all operations till he made himself sure that the retaking of his usurped territories would not offend the English. The Maha Rajah subsequently ordered back a sufficient force, under the command of Captain D'Lanoy assisted by the Poligar Pulithaver. Maphuz Khan's troops were defeated, the Kalacaud fort captured, and the 500 infantry and 200 cavalry, who defended it, were taken prisoners. Thus the Maha Rajah once more recovered Kalacaud and all the territories appertaining to it. The Travancore kingdom now extended from Periar in the north to Kalacaud in the south."—p. 162.

Kaḷakaḍu regained.

Treaty with the Nawab.

"It has been already said that during the reign of the former Rajahs, Travancore had made an agreement with the Governor of the Pandyan empire at Trichinopoly, promising to pay a nominal annual tribute for obtaining military aid, but subsequently, the Nabob of the Carnatic having taken the direct government of that empire, the Maha Rajah considered it wise and prudent to renew this treaty directly with the Nabob, which was accordingly done upon more

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favourable terms and conditions. By this treaty the powerful aid of one of the greatest potentates of Southern India was secured to Travancore, which was bound to pay to the Nabob 6,000 rupees, and a tribute in the shape of an elephant annually, the Nabob promising to afford every protection to Travancore from foreign and local enemies. Thus Travancore became perfectly secure, having two powerful allies to guard and protect her, the Nabob in the east and the Dutch in the west, while the English merchants at Anjengo were also ready to assist her when needed."—p. 172.

Subsidy to the Nawab.

Maphuz Khan and Yūsuf Khan.

"Maphuz Khan Sahib, the Governor of the Pandyan empire, under the Carnatic Nabob, who was stationed at Trichinopoly, rebelled against his master and made a descent on Kalacaud, the eastern possession of the Maha Rajah, at the western frontier of Tinnevelly. He attacked the Travancore garrison stationed there and drove them into the Aramboly lines, following them up with the Khan's forces. The Maha Rajah hearing this ordered one of his native commandants named Thamby Kumaren Chempaka Ramen Pillay, who was then stationed at Trevandrum, to march with his force to meet the invading army. He started at once and the battle which took place when this worthy warrior met the enemy was so severe and decisive, that the Mahomedan chief was obliged to beat a retreat from the Aramboly lines; but the Khan not only retained possession of Kalacaud, but assumed possession of the district of Shencottah and all the other eastern districts belonging to Travancore.

Battles with the Muhammadans.

"The Maha Rajah represented this matter to the Nabob, who was already so seriously displeased with the Khan, on account of his disobedient and refractory conduct, that he had it in contemplation to appoint a new Governor in the room of Maphuz Khan. A very able man named Yusuff Khan was appointed and sent as successor to the rebellious Maphuz Khan.

"Yusuff Khan on coming to Trichinopoly found it difficult to subdue the refractory Governor and sought the Maha Rajah's assistance. The Carnatic Nabob and the English East India Company at Madras requested His Highness at the same time to co-operate with Yusuff Khan in the subjection of the refractory Khan, and the Maha Rajah gladly acceded to their wishes.

Yusuf Khan's army.

"Five thousand men, under the command of Thamby Kumaren Chempaka Ramen, then stationed at Thovalay, were ordered to join Yusuff, and 10,000 men from Quilon were sent through the Ariencavu Pass to Shencottah. Yusuff was now at the head of a powerful army consisting of 20,000 men, which enabled him to drive away the Poligar of Wadakaray, and subsequently Maphuz Khan fled from the position he hitherto held and Yusuff established his power.

"As a grateful acknowledgment of the readiness with which the Maha Rajah lent his assistance, Yusuff Khan restored all His Highness' eastern possessions, and Kalacaud again became a part of His Highness' dominions.

"The Maha Rajah, however, did not retain possession of Kalacaud for any lengthened period; for His Highness lost this portion of his territories under very peculiar circumstances. Yusuff Khan, the Nabob's Governor, in his turn became disobedient to his master and began to endeavour to shake off the Nabob's authority and establish himself as an independent chief; to accomplish this object Yusuff secured aid from the French in India. Yusuf Khan's rebellion.

"In 937 M.E. (1762 A.D.) a joint force of the Nabob and the English was sent against Yusuff, and the Travancore Maha Rajah was also requested to co-operate with his army, which was to take possession of Madura and Tinnevelly and capture Yusuff Khan. The Khan had already applied to the Maha Rajah for assistance, offering all the territories west of the town of Tinnevelly, including Palamcottah, which had once belonged to Travancore, in return for the help His Highness would give him towards the retention of the Pandyan provinces under Yusuff's independent possession; but the wise Maha Rajah declared that whatever may be the prospect of gain before him by aiding Yusuff, His Highness would not go against his old ally the Nabob, and would not take arms against the English.

"The Maha Rajah sent a strong force to Trichinopoly to co-operate with the combined force against Yusuff, and that rebel, finding that resistance would be of no avail, gave himself up and was hanged by the Nabob's order in 1762 A.D.

"Yusuff Khan's successor thought it proper to assume possession of all the countries lying on the eastern side of the ghauts, as belonging to the Pandyan empire, and accordingly not only Kalacaud, but also Shencottah and all the other eastern possessions of Travancore were annexed to the Nabob's dominions.

"The Maha Rajah despatched a special messenger, Manik Lalla by name, to Madras, and represented the injustice of the Nabob's officers in unlawfully annexing territories belonging to Travancore, but the Mussulman potentate, intoxicated with his recent victories and the punishment awarded to Yusuff, would not listen to the representations of the Maha Rajah's agent, and His Highness was therefore under the necessity of seeking the mediation of the Governor of Madras, who, though he once confirmed the claims of the Maha Rajah to the districts of Kalacaud and other eastern possessions, now wavered in his opinion. After a good deal of discussion, the Nabob agreed to restore some of the Travancore territories, including Shencottah, Cape Comorin, &c. The Nawab seizes possession.

"The Mahamedan chief did not appear to be satisfied with the unlawful annexation of the Kalacaud District, which was the legitimate possession of Travancore from time immemorial, and was recently acquired by purchase from Moodemiah. That purchase was confirmed by two of his successors, the Nabob himself, and by the Honourable East India Company. The Nabob now pressed a demand for the few previous years' revenue on the Kalacaud District. The claim to Kalakadu.

"A settlement was effected by the intercession of the Governor of Madras, Mr. Robert Palk, who, after arranging matters with the Nabob, wrote to His Highness in 1765 A.D. in reply to a communica-

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tion from the latter, to the effect that the English Company had taken some steps in restraining the victorious Nabob from further hostilities, in putting a check to his demands, and also in advising him to conclude the treaty. For such services Travancore was reminded of the debt it owed to the Honorable East India Company, and the Governor hoped that the Company would be amply rewarded for their assistance.

" The sagacious Maha Rajah saw the desirability of adopting the Governor's suggestion and the necessity of entering into a treaty with the Nabob, against whom resistance was at that critical period almost impossible.

The claim to Kaḷakaḍu renounced.

" The principal conditions of the treaty with the Nabob were, that Travancore should renounce all claims to the Kalacaud District; that His Highness should increase the tribute to 15,000 rupees; that he should pay two lakhs of rupees in liquidation of some pretended demands on the Maha Rajah in connexion with the Kalacaud District; that he should never assist any of the Poligars against the Nabob; that the Maha Rajah should assist the Nabob with an army in his war against Madura and Tinnevelly; and that the Nabob should assist Travancore against all her enemies, foreign as well as internal."—p. 197.

Travancore Contingent sent to assist the British Forces.

" Intimation of the unwarrantable proceedings of Hyder Ali Khan was given by the Maha Rajah to the Governor of Madras, as also to the Bombay and Bengal Government, and a general war against Hyder resulted.

" The Maha Rajah was asked by the Government of the Honourable East India Company to co-operate with the Company's army, and His Highness most willingly consented to do so, entailing thereby great loss of money and life.

Travancore aid against HyderAli.

" The war was continued by the East India Company and the Maha Rajah assisted them to the extent that lay in his power. Travancore regiments of infantry and cavalry placed at the disposal of divisional commanders of the Company were taken to distant places, such as Calicut, Palghaut, Tinnevelly, &c., &c., and they were 'universally allowed to have behaved remarkably well.'

" After strongly fortifying the northern and eastern frontiers of Travancore, the Maha Rajah sent a portion of his army under able officers to the north, to co-operate with the Bombay army, under Major Abington at Calicut. His Highness' troops were engaged in the war and were successful in their united actions. Another portion of the Travancore army which was despatched to co-operate with the British army in Tinnevelly against Hyder was stationed at that town for a period of two years."—p. 205.

Journey of the Mahā Rajāh through Tinnevelly, &c., to Rāmēsvaram.

" In the year 959 M.E. (1784 A.D.) His Highness the Maha Rajah, partly to perform a religious ceremony and partly to satisfy his curiosity to see some other parts of the country in the east and south of Travancore, proposed making a pilgrimage to Ramaswaram and

seeing the districts of Tinnevelly and Madura on his way to and from that renowned resort of Hindu pilgrims.

"But before starting from Trevandrum on this pilgrimage, His Highness had to take the precaution of effecting some arrangements through the means of His Highness' allies, the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The districts through which His Highness had to travel to Ramaswaram, viz., Tinnevelly and Madura, though subject to the sovereignty of the Nabob, were divided and were in the possession of Palayapattacars (Poligars), the majority of whom were rude and lawless chieftains. Dangers from Poligars.

"His Highness obtained the assistance of a few companies of sepoys of the English East India Company and some responsible officers from the Nabob's Government to escort him to Ramaswaram. With these and a large portion of His Highness' own army and a number of followers, he set out with all the pomp and grandeur usually attending the movements of Indian sovereigns of the rank and celebrity of the Maha Rajah.

"His Highness took great care to inspect and examine all the important irrigation works, roads and bridges, sathrums or choultries built for the comfort and convenience of the public in Tinnevelly and Madura, this being the chief object for which he undertook the tour. Examination of public works.

"His Highness reached Ramaswaram in good health and performed the ablutions and other ceremonies there: and after spending a large sum in ceremonies and charities, returned, taking care to visit every place of note, to his own capital (Trevandrum), quite delighted with all he saw during a very agreeable journey.

"His Highness lost no time in turning to account the knowledge of irrigation works, &c., he had acquired during the tour, and introduced improvements in several works of this description in the southern districts comprising Nanjenaud, &c."

Major Bannerman, the first Representative of the British Government in Travancore, in 1788 *and* 1789.

"The Maha Rajah, with his usual prudence and faithful attachment to his allies the English, resolved to see no messenger of the Sultan or receive any communication from him, except in the presence of a British officer. His Highness wrote to the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, to depute an officer of integrity and ability to the Maha Rajah's court, with whom His Highness might consult on some important points connected with the Sultan's mission. The Governor was quite delighted with the Maha Rajah's prudence and wisdom and ordered Major Bannerman, then stationed at Palamcottah, to proceed to the Maha Rajah's court with a small detachment under his command."— p. 214. Tippu's proposals.

The first British Resident in Travancore.

"According to the agreement, two regiments commanded by Captain Knox were stationed near Aycottah in the northern frontier

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of Travancore in the year 964 M.E. (1788 A.D.). At the same time, as a medium for communicating between the Maha Rajah and the Madras Government, Mr. George Powney, a civil officer under the English East India Company, was also stationed in Travancore. He may be reckoned as the first Political Resident and British representative in the Maha Rajah's Court."—p. 219.

Mr. Powney was Collector of Tinnevelly from 1794. The celebrated Colonel Macaulay was Resident of Travancore from 1800.

New treaty signed in 1805.

In 1805 a force was suddenly collected in Tinnevelly under General MacDowel for the purpose of compelling the Rajah to sign a new treaty with the British Government. The Rajah at length consented to sign the treaty and the force was countermanded.—*See* pp. 310–323.

INSURRECTION IN TRAVANCORE; ATTACK ON THE RESIDENT; TAKING OF THE TRAVANCORE LINES IN 1809.

The commotions in Travancore out of which the war arose commenced in 1808. The management of affairs in Travancore had been for some time in an unsatisfactory state, whereupon the British Resident interfered. The Dewan was irritated and dragged his master into hostility to the English. He intrigued with the Dewan of Cochin and with the French. A vessel with thirty-one privates and a surgeon belonging to the 12th Regiment put into Allippie. The men were decoyed on shore, tied in couples back to back, and with stones tied round their necks were thrown into the backwater. This massacre was perpetrated by the Dewan's brother. The Resident's house at Cochin was attacked and he escaped with difficulty. Sir G. Barlow was then Governor of Madras and took prompt measures to suppress the rebellion and restore the authority of the English Government. A considerable force was sent to enforce obedience, and the forces of the Travancore State were assembled for the purpose of preventing their entrance into the country. The rebellion was disowned by the Raja of Travancore of that time, Rāma Varmā, who attributed the whole blame to his ministers, but the forces of the State were set in motion in resistance to the authority of the English as completely as if the Raja himself had been the leader of the rebellion.

I here quote the information given us in Shungoony Menon's *History of Travancore*:—

Causes of the outbreak.

"Paliathu Menon deputed a private messenger to Quilon, with a secret despatch to Valu Thamby Dalawah and the leaders of the disaffected military, proposing to them the massacre of the British Resident and his small garrison in the fort at Cochin, and offering his co-operation in the affair.

"These officials were delighted at such a desirable proposal from the Cochin minister, and Valu Thamby, from his own vanity, thoughtlessness, and desire of revenge, agreed to the proposal, and a programme was arranged between the two ministers. A short account of this has been thus recorded by Lieutenant, now Colonel, Horsley: 'We are unable to trace the successive steps that led to the war, or

more properly the insurrection, which took place in 1808; but it is perhaps to be attributed less to the people in general, who had everything to lose from any change which should extinguish British influence, than to the Rajah and to his principal native servants, provoked as they were at a control that threatened to moderate their excesses. The Cochin minister seems to have been implicated in those transactions. The character of this personage and the cautious manner in which he conducted these measures, countenance suspicion, that he was one of the most zealous and artful promoters of the troubles that ensued.'

The Dewa seeks all

"The Dewan now determined to resort to hostilities, though in a covert way. He issued secret orders for the recruiting of Nairs and people of other castes and the strengthening of fortifications and the storing of ammunition. He wrote to the Isle of France and the Zamorin of Calicut for aid, and warlike preparations were made by the Cochin minister Paliathu Menon.

"The Resident little knew of these internal arrangements. He continued, as usual, to press the Dewan and the Maha Rajah for the payment of arrears. The Madras Government continued their demand upon the Maha Rajah for immediate payment.

Plot to assassinate the Reside

"The Dewan had by this time formed the resolution of assassinating the Resident. But he still feigned that he was using all his endeavours to cause the early payment of arrears, and on the Resident's demanding either the liquidation of the amount or a change in the ministry, the Dewan pretended that he was on the point of retiring, and wrote to Colonel Macaulay that he would start for Calicut and take up his residence there on a pension, and asked him for a party of British troops to escort him thither, his object being to draw the best part of the Resident's escort from Cochin to Alleppey, where the Dewan was then located.

"Valu Thamby issued orders to the garrison at Alleppey and Paravoor and sent a detachment from Quilon preparatory to making a sudden descent upon the fort at Cochin for the massacre of the Resident together with Cunju Krishna Menon, arranging at the same time for the attack on the British garrison at Quilon, which was stationed there under the command of Colonel Chalmers.

Failure of attack on t Resident.

"The detachment moved from Quilon and Alleppey in covered boats, accompanied by Vycome Padmanabha Pillay, an intimate friend of the Dewan, who acted as his chief secretary, and the troops collected in the northern districts under the command of Cunju Cuty Pillay Sarvadhikariakar, stationed at Alangaud, also moved in covered boats to Cochin, and both the forces effected a junction at Calvathi, at about midnight on the 28th December. They surrounded Colonel Macaulay's house and opened fire. The sudden report of musketry at an unusual hour surprised Colonel Macaulay, and with the assistance of a confidential Portuguese clerk he managed to conceal himself, and in the morning got on board a pattimar at first, and subsequently on board the British ship "Piedmontese," which had just reached the Cochin roads; Cunju Krishna Menon also effected his escape uninjured, and joined Colonel Macaulay on board the ship.

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"The Travancore sepoys overpowered the few British sepoys who formed the Resident's escort, killing many who resisted, and afterwards entered Colonel Macaulay's residence, ransacked the house, murdered the domestic servants and others whom they found in the house, and afterwards returned, considerably chagrined at not finding the Resident and Cunju Krishna Menon.

"The disappointment consequent on this attempt to murder Colonel Macaulay had cast a great gloom and dread among all the Travancore officials. Nevertheless, they prepared themselves for a defence against the attack which they expected every moment. They committed depredations in the town of Cochin, and returned to Travancore the next day. Valu Thamby foresaw the result and quitted Alleppey at once and proceeded to Quilon.

"During this interval, three European military officers, including Surgeon Hume, together with a lady in one party, and twelve European soldiers of His Majesty's 12th Regiment, and thirty-three sepoys forming another party, were proceeding from Quilon to Cochin, and on coming near Poracaud, they were taken up by the military who had been scattered over those parts in large bodies, and who now began to exhibit a declared enmity towards the Company's people. In consultation with the ministerial officials stationed at Alleppey, all these were confined, the first party in the Poracaud bankshall, and the second at Alleppey. Subsequently the matter was reported to Valu Thamby Dalawah, with an application for his sanction for the immediate execution of those unfortunate and innocent men. The hard-hearted minister, who was a perfect stranger to mercy, sanctioned the wholesale murder of the helpless party without the least hesitation, and the unfortunate and unoffending men were all cruelly murdered there.[1] The three officers were butchered in cold blood at the sea-beach at Poracaud, and the European soldiers and sepoys were consigned to the bottom of the Pallathurthee river, on the eastern side of Alleppey. The lady was allowed to proceed to Cochin unhurt, it being contrary to the laws of Travancore to kill women, and she was besides in bad health, and many of the local officials pitied her weak and helpless condition.

Massacre of English officers and sepoys.

"The Resident lost no time in despatching a report to the Madras Government on the subject, and the following is an abstract of the report with which we were kindly furnished, together with a copy of the proclamation, issued under date the 15th January 1809, by the Government, by Mr. Ballard, the late British Resident in Travancore :—

"'For some days past, I had been engaged in negotiation with the Dewan at his own earnest solicitation, and had concluded everything to his own entire satisfaction, and was waiting only his arrival from Alleppey to carry into execution the measure upon which he had

The Resident's report to Government.

[1] "This information was given to us by one Ramalingum, Major Sobudar of M.N.I. Regiment VI, who accompanied these three unfortunate gentlemen and the sickly lady, and was present when they were murdered. He was then a dressing boy under Colonel Chalmers."—p. 337.

resolved on removing to Calicut, and had at his earnest request weakened the party with me to provide for his security, and had at his suggestion placed my boats and palanquins in convenient places to take him on with comfort and expedition. When a little past midnight, a party of Nayrs to the number of about one thousand, headed by the Dewan's confidential friend Pulpnabha Pillay and by the Minister of the Rajah of Cochin, surrounded my house to prevent all escape, and commenced a smart fire of musketry at every opening, first disarming the guard and killing a few who attempted resistance, and then broke into the place to destroy me; their design was providentially and somewhat miraculously defeated, and after having broken open every place and package, pillaging the house of the whole of my effects, they withdrew at break of day. The chief inconvenience at present attending this proceeds from the loss of books of record and official papers, but as the Dewan has now broken out into open rebellion, and will be likely to assemble his followers on every side in the hope of producing an impression on the subsidiary force, I have sent to Colonel Cuppage a request to embark without delay for Quilon all force that he can spare.' There had been a simultaneous attack on the subsidiary force at Quilon on the morning of the 29th December 1808. The Dewan arrived at Quilon, and encouraged the Travancore force concentrated thereabouts, and then proceeded to Kundaray, east of Quilon, whence he issued a proclamation."—p. 335. See this proclamation in *History of Travancore*, p. 339.

"By the Dalawah's strongly worded and powerful proclamation, the whole populace of Travancore was incensed and disaffected, and a revolt against the British force stationed at Quilon took place at once. The cantonment was attacked by large bodies of militia, assisted by the Travancore regular troops stationed about Quilon, but they were repulsed as often as they attacked by the able Commandant Colonel Chalmers. The failure of the attempt to murder Colonel Macaulay had not totally disheartened the Sarvadhikariakar of Alangaud, as he appears to have entertained hopes of success again. About 2,000 men, consisting of regular infantry and militia and the rabble, were kept up in the vicinity of Cochin, and the town was visited by them now and then. The Cochin minister, Paliathu Menon, had also collected a force of about 2,000 men and kept them also in the neighbourhood to attack the town. The Judges and other Company's officers closed their offices and many of the inhabitants and merchants left Cochin for Calicut, and the fear of a combined rebellion in Travancore and Cochin against the English East India Company now became general. But the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Cuppage on the northern frontier, and of Major Hewitt's detachment at Cochin, with whom the Travancoreans had fought and failed, discouraged the northern Travancore force entirely, and they retreated to the south, thus leaving Cochin safe and secure in the hands of the Company.

Quilon troops attacked.

Reinforcement.

"At Quilon the action under Colonel Chalmers was decisive, for on the 18th January the Dewan's force was completely defeated during a contest which lasted six hours."

APPENDIX I. *The inhabitants of Tinnevelly warned by the Madras Government not to take part in the Rebellion.*

"The Madras Government published the following proclamation in Tinnevelly and Malabar, which completely quieted the population of those districts :—

"'PROCLAMATION.

"'The Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George having been informed that the Dewan of Travancore has been endeavouring by artful intrigues to excite the inhabitants of Tinnevelly to rise in arms against the British Government, the Governor in Council thinks it proper to caution the inhabitants of Tinnevelly against listening to the delusive insinuations which the Dewan of Travancore has endeavoured to disseminate. The Governor in Council has no doubt that the inhabitants of that province will be sensible of their own interests and will continue to enjoy in tranquillity the advantages which they possess under the protection of the British Government.

"'Dated in Fort St. George, the 15th day of January 1809.'"

—Page 345.

Proclamation of the Madras Government to the inhabitants of Travancore.

"The Government published the following proclamation on the 17th January 1809 for the information of the people of Travancore :—

"'PROCLAMATION.

"'It is known to the inhabitants of Travancore that during many years the closest alliance has subsisted between the British Government and the Government of the Travancore country ; that the British troops have long been employed in defence o Travancore, and that it was by the exertion of the British armies that Travancore was saved from subjection to the power of Tippoo Sultan.

"'Under these circumstances, the Honorable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George has heard with extreme surprise, that military preparations of great extent have lately taken place in Travancore for purposes hostile to the interests of the British Government ; that the person of the British Resident has been attacked by the Travancore troops ; and that an assault has been made on the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon.

"'The Honorable the Governor in Council has reason to believe that these unprecedented outrages have proceeded from the desperate intrigues of the Dewan of Travancore, who has been also endeavouring by injurious insinuation to excite rebellion in the territories of the Honourable Company. In order that the daring plans of the Dewan may be defeated, the Honorable the Governor in Council has directed a large body of troops to move into Travancore, who will, in a short time, put an end to the power of the Dewan, and to restore order and peace in the country of Travancore. The Honorable the Governor in Council thinks it proper at the same time to make known to the inhabitants of Travancore that the approach of the British troops need occasion no alarm in the minds of those inhabitants who conduct themselves peaceably. The British Government has no other view in directing the movements of troops than to rescue the Rajah of Travancore from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that dangerous minister, and to re-establish the connection of the two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

A force to be sent to restore order.

"'The Honourable the Governor in Council calls on the inhabitants of Travancore to co-operate in accomplishing these objects, and such of the inhabitants as shall not oppose the advance of the British troops may be assured of the entire protection of

their persons and property; particular orders will also be given to give no disturbance to the Brahmins and religious establishments throughout the Travancore country.

"'Dated in Fort St. George, the 17th day of January 1809.

"'Published by order of the Honourable Governor in Council.

(Signed) C. BUCHAN,
Chief Secretary to Government.'"

—Page 346.

"The Travancore minister and his colleagues, as well as the military officials, had not to wait long for their fate, for a British force, under the command of the Honorable Colonel St. Leger, arrived at the southern frontier of Travancore and commenced an attack on the Aramboly lines and forced an entrance into the forts on the 10th February 1809.

"Valu Thamby Dalawah, who was at that time near the Aramboly garrison to support the operations, found it impossible to resist the British soldiers, and therefore had escaped to Trevandrum hastily."
—Page 347.

TAKING OF THE TRAVANCORE LINES.

General Welsh.

Our information with regard to the principal event of the war, the taking of the Travancore Lines, is derived mainly from General Welsh's *Military Reminiscences*. General (then Major) Welsh was the officer by whom the lines were stormed, and it will be remembered that it is to the same soldier and author that we are indebted for the fullest account of the last Poligar war.

Description of the lines.

The force, assembled for the purpose of asserting the authority of the English Government, was under the command of the Honorable Colonel St. Leger. When Major Welsh joined the force on the 5th February 1809 it was encamped six miles from Aramboly (properly Ārāvāy-moḷi) on the Tinnevelly side of the pass. The lines by which the entrance into Travancore through the pass was defended were about two miles in length, stretching across the gap from one range of mountains to another. They included a rugged hill to the southward, strongly fortified, and a strong rock about half way called the northern redoubt. The works consisted of small well-built bastions for two and three guns, joined at intervals by strong curtains, the whole cannon-proof and protected by a thick hedge of thorn bushes, the approach to which was difficult from the wildness of the country. Major Welsh proposed, and the Commanding Officer reluctantly consented, that an attempt should be made to take the lines by escalade; and on the 10th of February this daring feat was accomplished. The southern fortified hill was escaladed during the night, and though defended by fifty pieces of cannon and ten thousand men the whole lines were in the possession of the English force by eight o'clock A.M. The approach was so difficult that it took six hours scrambling to reach the foot of the walls, but the troops had escaladed the southern redoubt before their approach was suspected. As soon as it was seen that Major Welsh had secured a footing in that commanding position a detachment was sent to his aid, whereupon he stormed and carried

Successful assault.

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the main lines, including the fortified gate. The northern redoubt was then abandoned, and the Travancore troops fled in all possible directions, leaving the English in possession of the whole of the lines, the arsenal, and the stores. Before evening the English force was encamped two miles inside the Aramboly gate.

March towards Trevandrum.

On the 17th the army commenced its march for Trevandrum, the Travancore capital. The only resistance they met with was on the morning of the same day at a village where they had to cross the Susendram river, on the further side of which a portion of the Travancore force was posted in a strong position on a high bank. The Travancoreans were routed and dispersed with much loss to them and some to our troops. Nine guns were taken and the large villages of Cotaur and Nagercoil fell into the hands of the English. This was the last action fought and the last blood shed in this brief war. The English marched steadily forward, taking possession in their way of the abandoned forts of Oodagherry and Palpanāvaram, but before they reached the capital an armistice was proclaimed. On the arrival of the troops at the capital it was found that within the Rājā's palace walls an arsenal had been provided containing 140 pieces of serviceable cannon, 14,000 stand of arms, and abundance of ammunition, all which the Rājā was obliged to deliver up to the English. The late Dewan, the author of the rebellion, was speedily traced to the interior of a pagoda with brazen doors, and while the troops were breaking open the doors he killed himself. His brothers and six accomplices were taken alive and hanged at Quilon in front of the 12th Regiment, in the murder of the men belonging to which they had participated. Colonel Macaulay, the Resident, had now landed from a vessel of war in which he had some time before made his escape from Cochin when the rebellion broke out. Immediately on his arrival at the capital a new Dewan was appointed and new arrangements made for securing the peace of the country. Whilst the British force was approaching from the eastward through the Travancore lines the subsidiary force at Quilon was by no means idle. Shut up in the heart of a difficult country, with the inhabitants all in arms against them, they had had several severe actions, in which they were invariably victorious. Nevertheless their situation was daily becoming more critical until the news of the capture of the Aramboly lines reached the masses by which they were surrounded, when, giving up every hope of further success, they dispersed in all directions.

Events at Trevandrum.

General Welsh states that those lines had up to that time been deemed impregnable, and that Tippu Sultan in the zenith of his power had been repulsed from them with considerable loss. He adds that it was natural therefore that the report of their capture should at once decide the fate of the kingdom. The capture of the Aramboly lines was a brave achievement and undoubtedly decided the fate of the kingdom, but the General was mistaken in supposing that these were the lines from which Tippu was repulsed. The lines he failed to take were those on the northern frontier between Travancore and Cochin. This event occurred long before in December 1789.

The following particulars are from Shungoonny Menon's History :—

"The Colonel afterwards marched to Trevandrum, and on reaching the neighbourhood, encamped at a place called Pappenecode, when the Maha Rajah sent a deputation headed by His Highness' favourite Ummany Thamby *alias* Marthanden Eravy, who conveyed to the Colonel His Highness' extreme regret at the occurrence of the insurrection created by Dewan Valu Thamby, and of the adoption of measures for the Dewan's apprehension and delivery. Colonel Macaulay arrived in the camp on the 3rd March. Arrangements were made for the apprehension of the minister. A party of Travancore and British officers was despatched in pursuit of the Dalawah, and a reward of (50,000) fifty thousand rupees was offered for his apprehension.

Flight of the Dewan.

"Ummany Thamby, the head of the deputation, was appointed Dewan on the 18th March 1809 with the full concurrence of the British Government, and he at once sent persons in pursuit of the Dalawah. The runaway Dalawah wandered in the jungles about Vallicote in the Kunnathoor district. He was hotly pursued by the officers even here. From this place he came to Munnady, in the same district, and took refuge in a vacant house belonging to a Potty. The servant of Valu Thamby, who wandered in the streets there with his master's silver and gold utensils, was seen by the officers and apprehended, and he revealed to them the Thamby's hiding-place. He then fled to the Bhagavathi pagoda at Munnady with his brother Padmanabhen Thamby and determined to put an end to his existence. He asked his brother to stab him. This the brother refused to do at first, when the Dalawah plunged his own dagger in his bosom. But as the self-inflicted wound did not prove mortal, he cried out to his brother 'cut my neck,' which request the brother complied with, and in one stroke severed the neck from the body. By that time the pursuers reached the pagoda and forced open the door, when they found the lifeless body of Valu Thamby and his brother standing close to it with a drawn sword. The brother was seized and the body removed to Trevandrum, where it was exposed on a gibbet at Kunnammalay for public execration. Lord Minto, the then Governor-General, most strongly condemned this insult offered to the body of such a great man as Valu Thamby.

Death of the Dewan.

"The deceased Dalawah's brother Padmanabhen Thamby was hanged on the 10th of April, in the presence of the 12th Regiment at Quilon, on the supposition that he took part in the assassination of Surgeon Hume, and also in the most cruel and inhuman act of the drowning at Pullathurthee of a detachment of the 12th Regiment.

"Ummany Thamby Dewan was dreaded by the relatives of the late minister, and his house was razed to the ground and plantain and castor trees planted thereon.

Fate of the rest of the rebels.

"Most of the relatives were transported to the Maldives, but after going a certain distance stress of weather compelled them to touch at Tuticorin. Some appear to have committed suicide, some died in

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prison, while the rest were flogged and banished. All these were done by Valu Thamby's successor Ummany Thamby.

"Several of the promoters of the insurrection, chief among whom was Vycome Padmanabha Pillay, the murderer of the Europeans at Poracaud, Alleppey, &c., were punished by being publicly hanged at Quilon, Poracaud and Pallathurthee, the spots where the Europeans were massacred."—p. 349.

Political Results.

Aitchison's Treaties.

The political and financial results of the rebellion appear in Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. V. The Rājā was obliged to pay the expenses incurred by the British Government in this expedition, and a brigade was left at Quilon as a subsidiary force, agreeably to the treaty concluded in November 1795. The debts thus incurred were but tardily discharged, and the British Government were about to assume the internal administration of the country as the only means of insuring their satisfactory settlement when the Rājā died in 1811. The Rājā was succeeded by Latchmi Rāṇi, who, according to the peculiar custom of the family of Travancore, assumed charge of the Government until a male heir was born. She held it till 1814, during which time the British Resident, Colonel Munro, acted also as Minister, and by his judicious measures completely relieved the condition of the country. Latchmi Rāṇi was succeeded by her eldest son, and the country was, during his minority, successfully managed by her sister as Regent, under the counsels of the British Resident.

Shenkōṭṭai.

I subjoin some particulars respecting Shenkotta.

On the cession of Tinnevelly to the British Government by the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1801 it was found that the Nawab claimed the district of Shenkōṭṭai, a portion of Travancore situated to the east of the ghauts, as one of his Zemindaries. It was asserted also that this claim was admitted by the Rajah of Travancore, who had regularly paid peshcush as Zemindar of Shenkōṭṭai to the Ṅawab's Government.

The Travancore authorities do not admit that Shenkōṭṭai was ever a Zemindary under the Nawab, and the following is Sir Madava Row's statement of the case in his manuscript history. Some of the facts have already been quoted from Shungoonny Menon:—

"Mahomed Yusuf Khan, generalissimo of the forces of the Nawab of the Carnatic, incurred his master's displeasure, in consequence of which by the assistance of the English he was captured and hanged. Travancore having befriended Yusuf Khan, though only as the general of Mahomed Ali, the Nawab in revenge annexed Kaḷakāḍu and Shenkotta again to the Carnatic.

"But an ambassador, Māṇika Bhaṭṭa, was sent to Madras to the Nawab, and with the assistance of the English succeeded in obtaining the restoration of Shenkotta, not however till Kaḷakāḍu was ceded and

the Nawab, flushed with victory, exacted a tribute of 3,000 Vella fanams a year as a compensation to his Government for the restoration of Shenkotta. APPENDIX I.

"This continued to be paid to the Nawab till the Carnatic was ceded to the British. Thereafter the payment was made to them instead, and to this day it is incorporated with, and is a component part of, the subsidy of 8,00,000 rupees paid to the British Government."

It will be seen from the above statement that the only real discrepancy between the two representations relates to the use of one word, the word "Zemindar." Muhammad Yusuf Khan was executed in 1764, so that the relation described above as subsisting between Shenkōttai and the Nawab lasted for 37 years.

APPENDIX II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FLOODS AND PESTILENTIAL FEVER IN TINNEVELLY IN 1810–12.

THERE was a very severe flood in Tinnevelly on the 6th December 1810, "the like of which," Mr. Hepburn the Collector says, "has not occurred within the memory of man." The river bank was breached in many places, and most of the tanks and water channels were breached. 500 houses were carried away in the town of Alvar Tinnevelly. APPENDIX II.

In March 1811 the Collector reports that there had been another very heavy fall of rain for ten days in the end of February. This was a very unusual season for heavy rain and floods. He adds that this unusual rain has rendered the season unhealthy, particularly in the vicinity of the hills and along the sea-coast, where the mortality amongst the natives had been excessive.

On the 6th of April the Collector reports that rain had set in again in March and was continuing till the date of his letter. There was almost continuous rain for nearly three months, in February, March and April. The pestilential fever also had greatly increased and the mortality was frightful. In one village, that of Selvamarudūr, in the Calcaud Taluk (near Edeyengoody) visited by his assistant Mr. Hanbury, 50 houses were found entirely empty, and in every house in the village some had died. In other villages he found that a few of the inhabitants had fled and that all the rest were dead. A peon was sent to a village to make a demand for assessment and found the whole of the village officers and all the respectable inhabitants dead. In many places the grain rotted in the ground for want of hands to reap and gather it in.

Two causes for the fever had been suggested. One was that it arose from exhalations from the salt marshes near the sea, the smell arising from which was very dreadful. The other that it had travelled to Tinnevelly from Coimbatore, Dindigul and Madura, where it was said to have broken out first. The latter was the general opinion of the

APPENDIX II. natives. They said every individual amongst the pilgrims who went to Pulney and other sacred places in that region died on his return to his village. This origin of the fever was confirmed, they thought, by the circumstance that the fever was particularly fatal in the vicinity of the mountains.

A Medical Committee was convened to consider the condition of each of the districts affected by the pestilence. It assembled at Bhavany 8th May 1811. All that they could do was to prescribe the use of such preventives and such remedies as would naturally suggest themselves. They could not make the pestilential air wholesome, and the natives generally would be found too poor and too much attached to custom to avail themselves of most of the recommendations. The Committee recommended that the natives should build better houses, that the floor of their houses should be raised above the ground, that they should sleep on cots, with mattresses of twisted straw and coverlets, that they should clothe themselves more warmly, that they should use a sort of sandal for the feet, that they should not go out in the morning till the heavy fogs had been dispelled by the sun, and that they should eat better food. Amongst the remedies they recommended the only febrifuge was the bark of the Nim or Margosa.

In Dindigul the number of persons who fell victims to the pestilence in the course of nine months was not less than 34,000. Another authority estimates the number at one in thirteen of the population, but the calculation seems hardly reliable, seeing that in some places half the population were said to have died. In Madura the worst of the epidemic was before May in 1811. The epidemic, however, broke out again with great violence in 1812, and in the town of Ramnad, during the three months between December 1812 and February 1813, one in six were reported to have died.

Letters from Mr. Hepburn, the Collector, to the Board of Revenue, in 1811.

"2. The epidemical disease which forms the subject of these letters first became of sufficient importance in the month of February to attract attention and to impede the usual regularity of the collections. At first it was, however, principally prevalent in the Streevilliputtūr District, which joins the taluks of Madura and lies near the hills, the course of which it followed to the southward, where it has since prevailed very universally. Soon afterwards it broke out in the vicinity of the sea-coast and committed great ravages in the Punjamahl and Calacaud Taluks. To enable the Board, however, the better to trace its progress, I have the honor to enclose a small sketch of the province with the different taluks marked out, which will make the subject more easily understood.

"3. When the Medical Committee which is ordered here shall have investigated the subject they will no doubt, with the aid of the science which they possess, be able to account satisfactorily for the mortality which has occurred; yet it is to be apprehended that the principal cause of it is to be looked for in the very uncommon circumstances of the season. The Board recollect the great destruction of houses reported in consequence of the inundation in December last, and the

loss of huts was still greater. After that fall of rain the weather still continued hot and close, in the early part of the nights in particular, attended with very heavy dews towards morning. The heat of the early part of the night indeed caused many of the natives who had houses to sleep in the open air, by which they became exposed, while their bodies were still hot, to the chilling damps towards morning, which in all probability was the cause of the fever which succeeded, and of those whose houses had been destroyed many were obliged to do so from having no shelter to cover them. The rain soon after commenced and continued for three months, and generally the people were found totally unprovided against it; and to such as had no houses was added the misfortune of worse than ordinary food, as they often could not dry their grain to convert it into rice, having no place to preserve it in from the rain, in consequence of which they were deprived of almost every comfort they are in the habit of enjoying. That these causes operated in a considerable degree appears from the mortality having been much greater amongst the lower classes of people, particularly toddy-drawers, who live in temporary cabins made of cadjan only, most of which were destroyed in the monsoon, than amongst the better description of the inhabitants who live in good houses.

"4. Whether in addition to these causes the disease was infectious and imported from Madura and Dindigul it is impossible for me to say. The natives have a strong impression that it was, which certainly seems in some degree confirmed by the mortality amongst the pilgrims who have returned from Pulney in the Dindigul District; but to decide the question requires the exercise of a professional knowledge, which can only be expected from the report of the Medical Committee upon the subject. At first the disease was very rapidly fatal. The patient was seized with it on one day, had often a sort of fit or convulsion the second day, and generally died on the third. If he survived the ninth day he generally got over it, but was left in a state of great debility from the fever, which lasted from a fortnight to a month afterwards. At first the return of the fever was diurnal, but afterwards it only recurred once every other day, and in the cases where it proved fatal was often attended with a bloody flux. Such is the account which I have been able to obtain of this awful visitation, and whether the opinions formed are correct or not will hereafter be seen from the report of the medical men soon expected here. I can however say with great truth that they have been stimulated by the greatest interest and anxiety in the subject and that they have occupied my best attention.

"5. Within these last ten days the land winds have set in, which hold out the most anxious hope that the change of weather will produce an alleviation of the disease; as yet it is still however represented to be very prevalent, and although there are instances of speedy deaths from it, yet I hope that there is room to think the general features of it are beginning to change, and that of those taken ill the number of deaths is smaller, although the patients are still left in a state of great weakness from the wasting of a long-continued periodi-

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cal fever, which renders them unable for a length of time to attend to their usual duties and occupations; and from the protracted nature of the disease, it is frequent that the whole numbers of a family are to be found in one or other of the stages of the disease. The season is also still very extraordinary, as the land winds which in general blow with considerable violence are remarkably mild with frequent lulls and a heavy thick oppressive atmosphere. Had there not been a very violent squall, although of short duration, on the 29th ultimo, the state of the weather is such as to give rise to the apprehension that the whole will conclude with some violent convulsion of nature.

"6. On enquiring of the people whether such a calamity was ever experienced here before, they state that they remember a very unhealthy season about thirty-four years ago, but that its effects were not so general nor so fatal as in the present instance. This assertion is corroborated by a passage in Orme's *History of Hindustan*, in which the Board will find it mentioned in paragraph 2nd. page 201, old edition, that in the month of March 1757 a very unusual fall of rain had taken place in the province of Tinnevelly, which lasted for two days, and in addition to the damage done to the crops, had brought on an epidemic sickness which carried off numbers of the inhabitants by sudden deaths. The whole description, which is of some length, bears a strong resemblance to the present season, only that the calamity was not of the same extent. If two days rain, however, at that time could produce the effects recorded, some estimate may be formed of those arising from three months of such frequent and equally unseasonable rains.

"7. As before stated the disease was first reported in February to be so general in the district of Strivaleputtur as to cause considerable interruption to the collections. It was then however principally confined to the villages near the hills, in which it prevailed so generally that the peons could not go to demand the revenue, most of those who had been in the villages near the hills being laid up by the fever. To the end of February the fever still continued in this district and had spread all over it on the 26th March; the Tasildar reported that in many instances the crops were left uncut upon the ground for want of people to reap them, and that from the number of those whose business it was to collect and remit the revenue being sick great interruption was at present experienced in the collections.

"8. From Strivaleputtur the disease followed the course of the hills to Tenkashee, which has suffered in a very severe degree from it, as also the intermediate pollams shown in the accompanying sketch. Towards the end of February or beginning of March it had become very prevalent, and in the course of that month the Tasildar reported the number of deaths in the cusbah was from 10 to 15 daily, and in the other villages in proportion, and that many people had left the district for fear of the infection. He also represented that the crops were left standing on the ground for want of people to cut them, and that there were not people enough who were free from fever to attend the sick and burn the dead, and if he sent his peons to demand the revenue they generally found the people in a state rendering them

entirely incapable of attending to their concerns. Of all the taluks this one has suffered most in proportion to its population from the fever.

" 9. In Brummadaspuram the people were represented to have been rather sickly since the month of November last, but the epidemical fever does not seem to have made a very alarming progress till the beginning of March. Since that time the Tasildar represents the people to have suffered much, and he mentions many of the villages where there are not people enough to attend the sick and to burn the dead. The Board will observe a village of the name of Kuddyum in this neighbourhood. In this village, which was a very fine one, it is computed that about a thousand people have been carried off by the fever. Of these there were forty families of Brahmans, of whom twenty-six are entirely swept away, eight have deserted, and of the others about one half of the numbers of each family are dead.

" 10. In Sharrinmadavy the fever was later in commencing, and no representations of its having reached a serious height were made till the beginning of April. A great many people have had the disease, but as far as can be learnt the mortality does not appear to have been so great as in some of the other districts.

" 11. In Nellumbalam, with the exception of the town of Tinnevelly, the disease does not appear to have commenced so early as in the vicinity of the hills. In the month of April, however, it was represented as very generally prevalent, most of the people being sick and many having died. In the town of Tinnevelly, as before reported, the deaths are estimated for a considerable time to have amounted to fifteen or twenty people a day. The town is still unhealthy, but the cases of sudden death are decreased, as is also the number of casualties.

" 12. In the districts of Vedoogramem, Streeviguntam, Gungundam and Alwar Tinnevelly the disease has been much less destructive than in the others, although there has been a considerable degree of sickness, which has incapacitated the people from attending to their business.

" 13. It has already been stated that the disease early began to make its appearance on the sea-coast. How this is to be accounted for it is difficult to say, unless it arose from that part of the country having suffered much from the inundation in December and the houses of the people not being so good or durable as in the interior. There are also a great number of toddy-drawers who reside in huts made of cadjans only on the coast, most of which were destroyed in the monsoon and the people left exposed. Many of the salt marshes were also overflowed in the monsoon, the exhalation from which is very offensive. The mortality therefore all along the coast to Cape Comorin has been very great, and the district of Calcaud being bounded by the hills upon the other side has from these two causes suffered most severely from the fever. The Tasildar mentions many villages which are nearly depopulated, and almost all his peons have been sick. In addition to these misfortunes the small-pox has lately made its appearance in the Punjamahl Taluk, but it has not yet done much mischief.

APPENDIX II. This disease is probably imported from Travancore where I have been informed it is now raging, but it does not appear that the fever which has committed such ravages here has extended itself to that country, where the seasons are remarkable for their regularity.

"14. The taluk of Shankaranainarkovil is the only one which now remains to be noticed, and although surrounded by those parts which suffered most severely from the fever, it is extraordinary that till near the end of April it was only experienced in a comparatively slight degree and the deaths very few. On the 22nd of that month, however, it was represented as having become very general, and that a number of people were dying suddenly as in the other districts where it first broke out. The last accounts state it still continues.

"15. The above is a statement of the progress of the disease in the different parts of the province, as reported to me by the public officers and ascertained as correctly as possible from the best information which it has otherwise been in my power to collect and in compliance with the Board's orders. Instructions have been sent to endeavour to ascertain as near as possible the actual number of people who have fallen victims to this calamity. There has not yet, however, been time for a compliance with these orders from the state in which the people are whose duty it is to furnish them, and also from the dislike which the people of this country have in general to all enquiries of this nature, and they consequently evince much unwillingness to furnish any information respecting it. Independent of these circumstances it is to be apprehended that any account recorded just now would be liable to inaccuracy, as in many places where the fever began the people left their villages until the disease should subside. As soon, however, as any return is obtained which can be depended upon, the Board shall immediately be furnished with it."

APPENDIX III.

TINNEVELLY NATIVE AUTHORS.

APP. III. THE Pāṇḍya country, especially as was natural Madura itself, the capital of the country and the abode of its kings, abounded in authors. It might with equal propriety be said to have abounded in poets, almost every ancient Tamil composition having been in verse. Madura became celebrated in Tamil literary circles for its so-called "college." This college, however, was not a teaching institution, but an association of poets, who gave their *imprimatur* to works they considered classical by giving the writer a place on their board, which was literally a board, viz., the board on which they sat when they met, represented afterwards to have been a miraculous diamond bench capable of expanding and contracting. The name for this college, Sangam (Sanskrit), has the same meaning as the Latin *collegium*, viz., an association or society of learned men. Tradition says that there were three such colleges at Madura at different times, and that

Madura College.

it was to the last of them that Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the celebrated author of the Kuraḷ, was admitted. Another of the accepted poets was the author of the Nāladiyār. Tiruvaḷḷuvar (a name which means the sacred Paraiya priest) is esteemed the prince of Tamil poets; but having been a Paraiya, it was not without a miracle wrought in his favour that he was allowed a place on the much-coveted bench. All this passes current freely in popular tradition, but it is impossible now to ascertain how much truth these legends contain. It is the less necessary for our present purpose to endeavour to ascertain this, seeing that none of the great writers of that time is said to have belonged to Tinnevelly. It is true that Tinnevelly boasts in the possession of Agastyar-malai, the place to which the great rishi Agastya, styled "the Southern Sage" and "the Tamil Sage," retired after having not only invented Tamil grammar but the Tamil language itself, and also that works are still extant—grammars and books of medicine, alchymy, and mystic theology—which are commonly attributed to him. When I have mentioned, however, that all this is related and believed without a particle of evidence in its favour, and against every conceivable probability, I think I have done enough.

Agastya.

A considerable number of Tamil compositions of some degree of merit are attributed on sufficient evidence to persons who are known to have belonged to Tinnevelly, but there are only four of these which could fairly claim a place in a history of Tamil literature.

Nammāḻvār.

I. The first and probably the oldest of these is a portion of the great Vaishṇava composition called the great Prabandham or Tiruvāy-moḻi, the words of the Sacred Mouth. The whole work contains 4,000 verses, 1,000 of which are attributed to a native of Tinnevelly. This was Nammāḻvār, one of the twelve Āḻvārs or disciples (Āḻvār means one who profoundly humbled himself) of Rāmānuja Āchārya, the founder of the Srī-vaishnava or Visisht-ādvaita school of Hindu theosophy. The Brahman adherents of this school are called in the Tamil country Aiyangārs. The age of the Āḻvārs is not certainly known, but it must have been subsequent to the age of their master Rāmānuja, who flourished about the beginning or middle of the 12th century A.D. The Tinnevelly Āḻvār gave his name to Āḻvār Tirunagari, a place called also, but erroneously, Ālvār Tinnevelly. The oldest name of this place is Kurugūr or Kurugāpuri. In later times the name which I have found in inscriptions is Tenkarai (the South-bank, equivalent to the English Southwark), a name which survives as the name of the taluk in which this place is included. It was called by this name in contradistinction to Srī-vaikuṇṭham, a still more considerable town on the northern bank. Āḻvār Tirunagari, the name by which it is now called, the meaning of which is the holy city of the Āḻvār, is one of the principal Vaishnava holy places in Tinnevelly, with a population of 5,600. The real name of the Āḻvār of this place is said to have been Jaḍakōpa, a common name now amongst Vaishnavas, and his father is said to have been one Kari

Āḻvār-tirunagari.

APP. III. Māran, a scion of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. Māran means Pāṇḍyan. Nammāḻvār means our Āḻvār, and this title is said to have been conferred upon him by Vishṇu himself, as a mark of special confidence and favour. Though only one in twelve of the Āḻvārs, his share in the hymns of the great Prabandham was one part in four.

Translation of the Mahābhārata.

II. The second important composition attributed to a native of Tinnevelly is the Tamil poetical translation of the Mahā-bhārata, or at least of the greater part of it, which is believed to have been written at Srī-villiputtūr, by a Vaishnava Brahman called Sārva Bhauma[1] Aiyangār. From the name of the place to which he belonged he is commonly called Villiputtūrār. Possibly at the time the poem became famous Srī, sacred, had not been commonly prefixed to the name of the place. At present if the Srī were omitted, the name would not be recognised. The poet is sometimes called an Āḻvār, but this is only out of respect, as the title is also sometimes given to Kambar, the author of the Tamil poetical version of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Tamil Mahā-bhārata is not considered by any means equal in beauty to the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa, which stands, with the Chintāmaṇi and the Kuraḷ, in the very first rank of Tamil poems, but it is considered notwithstanding a very fine composition. Portions of it have frequently been prescribed for the study of candidates for University distinctions.

Srī-villiputtūr.

The date of the author of this work is unknown, but it is never supposed to be very early. Pandits generally suppose that he lived two or three hundred years ago, which seems probable enough and would place him in the age of the Nāyaka rulers of Madura. Villiputtūr means the new town of the bow-man, and of course a legend—several legends indeed—are related to account for this name and explain who the bow-man was. It has received the title of Srī, sacred, on account of its Vaishnava temple, which is a holy place of some celebrity, ranking perhaps with that at Āḻvār Tirunagari. Tirumalai Nāyaka, the celebrated ruler of Madura, had a palace in this place, which is still shown. In the Government Records the name of the place appears as Nāchiyār Kovil, with a population of over 14,000.

Parimēlaḻagar.

III. The third literary character belonging to Tinnevelly whose name claims to occupy a place in the literary history of the Tamil country is a commentator on the Kural called Parimēlaḻagar. I should hardly have thought of placing a mere commentator in this rank, were it not that his *urai* or commentary is considered the first of its kind. According to the opinion of the Tamil people the best of all poems is Tiruvaḷḷuvar's Kuraḷ, and the best of all commentaries is

[1] Sārva Bhauma means possessing the whole world or known throughout the whole world.

Parimēlaḷagar's commentary thereon. The date of this writer is unknown, but he is believed by some to have lived in the Karisal-Kāḍu, or black cotton soil country, in the northern part of Tinnevelly. In the Northern Tamil country I have always heard Parimēlaḷagar represented to have been a Brahman, but some Pandits in Tinnevelly —not themselves Shanars—maintain that he was a Shánar guru. Others assert that he was neither a Brāhman nor a Shanar, but a Veḷḷāḷa. App. III.

Nīti-neri-viḷakkam.

IV. Perhaps the latest of the Tinnevelly literary celebrities was the author of the Nīti-neri-viḷakkam, a work consisting of ethical stanzas, arranged more or less after the fashion of the Kural and the Nāladiyār. These stanzas have secured themselves a good place in general estimation, but few of them rise to the highest order of originality and merit. They are frequently made use of in University examinations. The author was a Saiva ascetic, a Veḷḷāḷa by caste, called Kumāra-guru-para-Tambirān. Tambirān, his lordship, is the usual title of the head of a Saiva monastery. Our author however was not the head of any monastery, but seems to have had the title conferred upon him as a term of respect. Compare the use of Abbe amongst the French. He is sometimes called also Kumāra-guru-para-Swāmigāḷ. Swāmigāḷ is the honorific plural of Swāmi, lord. Kumāra-guru-para belonged to Śrī-vaikuṇṭham, a well-known town on the northern bank of the Tāmraparṇi. This has always been a place of some importance, and is now the capital of the Tenkarai Taluk. The name by which it is called denotes that it is a holy place amongst the Vaishṇavas. Vaikuṇṭham is the name of Vishṇu's heaven. The population of the place is upwards of 7,000. Kumāra-guru-para-Tambirān is said to have flourished during the reign of Tirumalai Nāyaka, the celebrated king of Madura. If so, he is to be placed between A.D. 1623 and 1659. Śrī-vaikuṇṭham.

APPENDIX IV.

SEPULCHRAL URNS IN TINNEVELLY.

I AM anxious to obtain some information as to the extent of the area within which sepulchral urns, like those to which I am about to refer, are found. App. IV.

The urns I refer to are large earthenware jars containing fragments of human bones, generally in a very decayed state. They are of various sizes, corresponding with the age of the person whose remains were to be disposed of. The largest I have found was eleven feet in circumference, and the smallest have been between four and five. The shape varies a little within certain limits, so that I have not found any two urns perfectly alike, but the type generally adhered to is that of the large earthen jars (in Tamil kūnai) with which the Shape of urns.

App. IV.

people in this neighbourhood draw water from wells for their cultivation. The urn is without handles, feet, or cover. It swells out towards the middle and terminates in a point, so that it is only when it is surrounded with earth that it keeps an upright position. The urns do much credit to the workmanship of the people by whom they were made, being made of better-tempered clay, better burnt, and much stronger than any of the pottery made in these times in this part of India. They would contain a human body easily enough in a doubled-up position, if it could be got inside, but the mouth is generally so narrow that this would present some difficulty. One opinion is that the bones were denuded of flesh and separated before they were packed into the urns. Generally decay is found to have advanced so far that theories respecting the mode in which the body was put in can neither be verified nor disproved. Fragments only of the harder bones remain, and the urn seems to contain little more than a mass of earth. In one instance I found the bones partially petrified, and therefore almost perfect, though they had fallen asunder; but this was the large eleven-feet urn referred to above, discovered at Korkai, so that in this instance it was conceivable that the body had been placed in it entire. The skull was nearly perfect—a skull of a low type. At Ilanji, near Courtallum, on opening an urn distinct traces of the shape of a skeleton were discovered. The skull was found resting on the sternum, and on each side of the sternum was a tibia. It appeared clear, therefore, in this case, that the body had been doubled up and forced in head foremost, though it was not clear how the shoulders could have got in. The bones were of the consistence of ochre, and crumbled to pieces when they were taken out. Nothing could be preserved but a piece of the skull and the teeth, which were those of an adult. Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore, who was present at the find, pointed out that the molars had been worn down by eating grain, and that the edges of the front teeth also had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulse. Afterwards, on examining the mouths of some natives, I found their front teeth worn down a little in the same manner, and as they admitted, from the same cause. I have not noticed any trace of the bones in these urns having been calcined. I believe they were not. Cremation, I think, was not then in use.

Mode of interment.

Characteristics of the human remains.

In addition to human bones a few small earthen vessels are found in most of the jars. Sometimes such vessels are arranged outside instead of being placed inside. These vessels are of various shapes, all more or less elegant, and all appear to have been highly polished. At first I supposed they had been glazed, but I have been informed by Dr. Hunter, late of the Madras School of Arts, that what I noticed was a polish, not a true glaze. Whatever it was, I have not noticed anything of the kind in the native pottery of these parts and these times. In many cases the polish or glaze is black, and the decay of these blackened vessels seems to have given rise to the supposition that the bones had sometimes been calcined.

Description of contents.

On the accompanying plate (see *Indian Antiquary* for October 1877) are sketches of five of these little vessels. When these have been

shown to natives, they say that one appears to have been an oil vessel, and another a spittoon! The use of the vessel with the lid is unknown. In these times such vessels would be made of bell-metal, not of pottery. We may conclude that the object in view in placing these vessels in the urn was that the ghost of the departed might be supplied with the ghosts of eatables and drinkables, together with the ghosts of suitable vessels for eating and drinking out of, in the other world. Small stones about the size of a cocoanut are generally found heaped round the mouth of the urn, and the discovery of such stones ranged in a circle, corresponding to the circular mouth of the urn, will be found to be a reason for suspecting the existence of an urn underneath.

The natives of these times know nothing whatever of the people by whom this singular mode of sepulture was practised, or of the time when they lived. They do not identify them with the Samaṇas—that is, the Jainas and Buddhists lumped together—about whom tolerably distinct traditions survive, nor does there appear to be anything in or about the jars distinctively Jaina or Buddhistic. There is a myth current amongst the natives, it is true, respecting the people who were buried in these jars, but this myth seems to me merely a confession of their ignorance. They say that in the Trētāyuga—that is, about a million of years ago—people used to live to a great age, but that however old they were they did not die, but the older they grew the smaller they became. They got so small at length that to keep them out of the way of harm it was necessary to place them in the little triangular niches in the walls of native houses in which the lamp is kept. At length when the younger people could no longer bear the trouble of looking after their dwarf ancestors, they placed them in earthen jars, put with them in the jars a number of little vessels containing rice, water, oil, &c., and buried them in a sort of cemetery near the village.

Native theories.

The name by which these urns are called in the Tamil country does not throw much light on their origin. This name assumes three forms. In the Tamil dictionary it is madamadakkattāḷi. A more common form of this is madamadakkan-dāḷi, the meaning of both which forms is the same, viz., the taḷi or large jar which boils over. The meaning attributed to this by some natives is rather far-fetched, viz., that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jars and sit about, as if they had boiled over out of them. The form of this word in use amongst the common people seems capable of a more rational interpretation. This is madamattan-dāḷi, or more properly madōnmattan-dāli. Madōnmatta (Sansk.) means 'insane,' but it is sometimes used in Tamil to mean 'very large,' as in the Tamil version of the Panchatantra, where it is used to denote a very large jungle. The great size of the urn being its principal characteristic, it would seem that the name in use amongst the common people is, after all, better warranted than that which is used by those who are regarded as correct speakers.

Interpretation of names.

Who the people were who buried their dead in these urns is a problem yet unsolved. The only points that can be regarded as cer-

People interred not pygmies.

App. IV.

tain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns and their contents themselves. From this it is clear that the people buried in them were not pygmies, but of the same size as people of the present time. How they were put in may be mysterious, but there is no doubt about the size of their bones. The skulls were similar to those of the present time. The teeth also were worn down, like those of the existing race of natives, by eating grain. In a jar opened by Mr. Stuart, then Acting Collector of Tinnevelly, and Dr. Jagor, of Berlin, at Āditta-nallūr near Puduguḍi, a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared, but the husks remained. In one opened by myself at the same place a small copper bangle was found. Copper is not now used for this purpose.

The unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found, not one here and another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers, as would naturally be done in a cemetery or burial-ground. They were also a comparatively civilized people, as is evident from the excellence of their pottery, and the traces of iron implements or weapons which have sometimes been found in the jars. The conclusion from all this which seems to me most probable is that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood. If this were the true explanation, it is singular that no relic, trace, or tradition of such a mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. And yet, if we were to adopt the supposition that they were an alien race, it would be still more difficult to conjecture who they were, where they came from, and why they disappeared. Whoever those people were, judging from the rites of sepulture prevailing amongst them, I think it may be regarded as certain that they were not 'Hindūs;' that is, that they were not adherents of the Brahmanical religion commonly called Hindūism. If so they must have lived at that early period when Brahmanical Hindūism was as yet unknown, or at least when it had not yet become the religion of the country. This supposition would carry the urns back to a high antiquity, possibly even an antiquity higher than the Christian era.

Not Hindūs by religion.

I have myself seen these urns both in the Tinnevelly and Madura Districts and in Northern and Southern Travancore, that is, on both sides of the Southern Ghāts, and I am anxious to ascertain in what other districts of India they are found. If the area within which they are found can be accurately traced, some light may be thrown thereby on their history.

APPENDIX V.

EXPLORATIONS AT KORKAI AND KĀYAL.

Appendix V.

I quote here, in confirmation of statements made in various places in the body of the work, an article which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for March 1877.

Korkai identified.

"I visited Korkai once many years ago, and, though my visit was a hurried one, yet from what I saw, and from the inquiries I made, I

came to the conclusion that Korkai (in Tamil properly Kolkai, euphonized into Korkai), though now so insignificant, was to be identified with the Κόλχοι of the Greeks, which Lassen had identified with Kīḷakarai, a place on the Ramnad or Madura coast. The Greeks came to Κόλχοι to purchase pearls, certainly soon after the Christian era, probably many years before, and represented it as the headquarters of the pearl trade between Cape Kumārī and the place they called Κῶρυ, properly Kōṭṭī, now Rāmeśvaram, which was also an emporium of the same trade. It must have been regarded as a considerable place at that time, seeing that from its name they called the Gulf of Manar the Kolchic Gulf. This was the Korkai to which all native traditions pointed as the cradle of South Indian civilization, the place where the three brothers Chēran, Chōḷan, and Pāṇḍiyan were said to have been born and brought up, and from whence they set forth to form dynasties and kingdoms,—or, as might more readily be admitted, the place where the rule of the Pāṇḍyas commenced, and from whence they afterwards migrated to Madura. The meaning of the name Korkai is 'an army, a camp.' The interest of this identification was heightened by the conclusion at which I arrived at the same time, that an insignificant place called Old Kāyal, about halfway between Korkai and the sea, was to be identified with the Cael of Marco Polo, the most important city and seaport on the eastern coast of India during the Middle Ages. (See Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*.) The sites of two famous places were thus discovered in the same neighbourhood, and a glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason why each had been abandoned in turn. Both places are situated on the delta of the Tāmraparnī,—Korkai within five, Kāyal within two, miles of the sea,—and each was originally on the sea-coast. As the silt accumulated in the sea near the mouth of the river, or as the land rose, or from both causes, Korkai was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of a seaborne trade, and Kāyal (meaning a 'lagoon opening into the sea') rose in its stead on the sea-shore, and attained perhaps to still greater dimensions. Kāyal carried on an immense direct trade with China and Arabia, the evidences of which—broken pieces of China and Arabian pottery—are found lying all over the open plain on which the city stood. In time, however, through the continuous operation of the same causes, Kāyal came to be too far from the sea; and accordingly, shortly after the Portuguese arrived on the Coromandel Coast, they abandoned Kāyal, and established themselves instead at Tuticorin, which has ever since been the principal seaport of Tinnevelly, there being no river near to silt up the harbour and roads. It would seem as if Korkai, though probably never so important an emporium of trade as Kāyal, must at one time have been nearly as large. This is proved by the relics of pottery, &c., scattered about the country for miles, and especially by the circumstance that places, such as Akkasālai ('the mint'), which are now at a distance from Korkai, are ascertained, by the inscriptions I have found on the walls of the temples, to have been portions of Korkai originally.

Kayal.

Retirement of the sea from both places.

APPENDIX V.

Excavations at Korkai.

"Whilst in Korkai and the neighbourhood I employed ten or twelve coolies for four days to make excavations here and there, under the superintendence of one of my assistants; whilst it was made the duty of the choir boys—much more a pleasure to them than a duty—to examine every shovelful of the earth that was thrown up, to see whether it contained any objects of interest. The Collector of the district kindly sent me a peon, to let the people of the place see that nothing illegal or improper was going to be done, and in return I sent him a list of the articles found, though unfortunately they were of no particular interest.

Geology of Korkai.

"The geology of the place seemed to me more interesting than its antiquities. The whole of the country in this neighbourhood is included in the delta of the Tāmrāparnī, the great river of Tinnevelly; and this place is situated in the last formed portion of the delta, lowest and nearest the sea, so that the mode in which the delta was formed, which is doubtless more or less the mode in which all deltas have been formed, could be easily studied. The upper stratum is composed of stiff alluvial clay, which had been brought down by the river and deposited in the bed of the adjacent sea. Every portion of this alluvium contains sea-shells in great abundance,—not merely sea-shore shells, but deep-sea shells, such as the *chank* and the pearl oyster. So abundant are they that in places where the surface of the ground has been washed away by rain, and cultivation has not been carried on, the white shell-covered surface glitters almost like water in the moonlight, and in some places as you walk along the roads, especially near Māramangalam, the shells go crackling under your feet, as they would by the sea-shore when the tide is out. This being the last formed portion of the delta, the alluvial stratum is very shallow. The average depth cannot be more than six feet, and at the bottoms of tanks I have found it no more than three. Underneath this I invariably found a layer of grit-stone (called by the people 'salt-stone'), rarely more than a foot in thickness, composed of the larger grains of sea-sand, such as lie on the surface, mixed with comminuted shells. This had evidently been the surface of the ancient sea-bed, for underneath I invariably came upon beautiful white sea-sand in smaller grains, containing great quantities of unbroken shells. Doubtless the grit-stone had been formed by the infiltration of the alluvium from above. I found it impossible to ascertain the depth of the sand, or what it rested on, for after digging into it for a few feet the hole always got filled with water, and the water flowed in so fast that baling out was useless. Strange to say, some of the shells I found in this ancient sea-bed retained a portion of their original colour. One in particular—a *Conus*—looked as if it had been alive only a few years ago. What makes this so remarkable is that this portion of the delta must have been inhabited at least 2,500 years ago, and it must have been many ages earlier when the deposition of the alluvium commenced.

Recent appearance of shells.

No traces of the Greeks.

"I hoped by making excavations in Korkai and the neighbourhood to find some traces of the Greeks, but in this I was doomed to be

disappointed. The ancient level of the village is about eight feet below its present level, which of itself is a proof of great antiquity. When the diggers reached this depth they invariably found traces of human habitations, shreds of Indian pottery, &c., but nothing of the nature I hoped to find. On the surface we found two Singhalese copper coins (I conclude them to be Singhalese from the management of the drapery), but the inscriptions were quite obliterated. I also found two images of Buddha, sitting, in his usual attitude of contemplation. One of them was out in the fields, the other in the village. Image of Buddha. I suspected that the latter was worshipped, though it was known to belong to a different religion. The people strenuously denied this, but one morning when I happened to pass I saw a garland of flowers which had been placed by some person round its neck. The person who did so evidently thought that if ever Buddha got his head above water again, he had a chance of being remembered for good! The most interesting things that were found were three of those mysterious sepulchral urns which have hitherto puzzled everybody. The natives know nothing about them, and the common opinion amongst Europeans is that they pertained to a race which died out, but of which no relic remains except these urns. The urns are made of a peculiarly good variety of the ordinary pottery of the country, but there are always some little vessels found inside, some of which are beautifully shaped, with a polish or glaze which the potters of these days cannot imitate. Two of the urns I found contained no bones, but only traces of bone-dust; but one, a monster urn, 11 feet in circumference —unfortunately found broken—contained a complete set of entire human bones, including a perfect skull. Sepulchral urns. The circumstances in which this urn was found were very interesting. The people to whom it belonged had dug down through the alluvial soil of the delta and the grit-stone till they came to the white sea-sand, and in this they had deposited the urn. The grit-stone had then partially reformed all round, and I found the cavity of the skull filled up with grit-stone. All the bones were more or less petrified. The notion invariably entertained by the natives of these days is that the people buried in these urns were a race of pygmies, but the bones found in this urn were admitted by the natives who were standing about when it was opened to be those of a full-grown man of the usual size. Petrified human bones. Strange to say, a deputation of women came to my tent one day for the purpose of seeing the bones.

"I visited Old Kāyal (Marco Polo's Cael) twice, and set my excavators at work for a day in a place about two miles from the present village, which represents only the western boundary of the ancient city. Explorations in Kāyal. At a depth of three feet beneath the present surface they came on the *chunammed* floor of a house, but found nothing of importance. The extent of the site of Kāyal was so great that it would take a month, instead of a single day merely, to explore it properly. I found, however, the whole surface of the ground, literally for miles, covered with evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo's statements respecting the trade of the place, confirmed by those of the Muhammadan historians. According to those statements, Kāyal was

APPENDIX V.

China and Arabian pottery.

frequented by great numbers of vessels from the Arabian coast and from China—(*junks*)—in one of which latter Marco Polo himself arrived; and accordingly I picked up everywhere on the open plain broken pieces of China porcelain of all qualities, and broken pieces of Arabian pottery. I could easily, if I had chosen, have collected a cart-load, but the pieces had been broken again and again by the plough and the feet of bullocks, so that, though the material in each case was obvious enough, all trace of the shape of the article had disappeared. Old Kāyal, or what remains of it, is now inhabited almost exclusively by Labbīs (native Muhammadans) and Roman Catholic fishermen.

"The people of these parts, as generally throughout India, have not the remotest notion of the object Europeans have in view in searching for antiquities. Whatever we may say, they think our real object is to endeavour to discover hidden treasures; and this they consider a very risky business, for all hidden treasures are in the custody of demons, who will not allow them to be rifled with impunity. At Korkai, before my explorations commenced, many of the people expressed an earnest hope that I would not make any excavations near any temple or image, because, although very likely there might be treasure underneath, the demons in charge would be so enraged that they would destroy the village outright. I assured the people that I would take care not to come near any temple or image, and I scrupulously kept my word. My old friend M——— of Ārumuga-mangalam professes to have received a dreadful fright some years ago from the demons that watch over hidden treasure, when he helped the then Collector of Tinnevelly, Mr. Puckle, to make some explorations near Kāyal. The night after the first day's exploration a she-demon appeared to him in a dream, and asked him in terrible tones how he dared to meddle with her treasures. In the morning when he awoke, he found—dreadful to relate—that his feet were fastened round the back of his neck in such a way that he was unable to loose them without assistance! I need scarcely add that no further part in the exploration was taken by him. I wanted him to tell me the story; but he was afraid, I suppose, I should laugh at him, and so I failed; but he told it quite gravely to my assistants, and has told the story so often that he evidently believes it himself now. Even Europeans, it seems, are not quite so free from danger as they suppose. Many years ago there was a Collector of Tinnevelly, it is said, who determined to dig for the treasure which was believed to have been hidden in a certain place by a woman who intended to make use of it in some subsequent birth, and which for the time being, of course, was under the custody of demons. He was warned that something dreadful would happen, but, being a European, he did not care. He pitched his tent near the place, and the whole of the first day was occupied by himself, his peons, and his coolies in digging. At length, as night drew on, they came to a carefully built stone receptacle; and, justly concluding that this was the place where the treasure was hidden, the Collector set a watch over it and went to sleep in his tent, with the intention of opening the stone receptacle the next morning. The next morning

Superstitious fears.

Wonderful occurrence to an explorer.

came, and the Collector found himself, not in his tent, but in bed in his own bungalow many miles away at Palamcotta; the tent was found pitched at the other side of the river, and of the excavations that had been made the previous day not a trace remained!"

Discovery of Arabic Coins.

Some years ago a considerable quantity of Muhammadan gold coins was discovered in Tinnevelly near an old road leading from Kāyal. So far as appears all the coins—which with one exception are Arabic—belonged to the 13th century A.D. and probably therefore were brought to India by Arab merchants some time before Marco Polo's visit in 1292. They were discovered by coolies engaged in digging the southern channel leading from Puduguḍi, at the southern end of the Srīvaikuṇṭham anicut, in the direction of Tiruchendūr. The nearest village to the spot was Tentirupati or Tentirupērai, the nearest town Āḷvār Tirunagari. The channel was being carried through a road when the vessel containing the coins was discovered several feet beneath the surface. Kāyal lies to the north of the Tāmraparṇī near the sea, and this place lay to the south some distance inland, but as the road under which they were found led from Kāyal to Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam and Kulasēkharapaṭṭaṇam, places where Arab merchants resided and traded even then, I think we are warranted in connecting the find with Marco Polo's Kāyal. Doubtless the treasure was buried in the hurry of some alarm of robbers or local war, and we may conclude from the owners never having returned and taken it away that the alarm proved only too well founded, and that the owners lost their lives as well as their treasure.

I here quote the account of the discovery furnished to the Board of Revenue by Mr. R. K. Puckle, Collector of the district, on the 25th October 1873:

"On the 25th December (1872) last a gang of labourers while engaged on cutting a channel connected with the Strivaiguntam Anicut Project came upon a large copper pot filled with gold ingots and coins. The pot was of large size, capable of holding six Madras measures of grain, and from the marks inside it must have been filled with treasure.

"2. The probable value of the treasure is estimated at a lakh of rupees.

"3. The labourers divided the spoil and made off with it, but the matter soon became public and the Tahsildar succeeded in recovering Rupees 8,000 worth of coin and ingots. This was mostly recovered from a little girl who ran away from her house with a chatty which fell, broke, and scattered the gold in front of the officials who were coming to search.

"4. The rest was quickly buried or melted down, and all traces of it were lost. I am told, however, that the share of one of the labourers, which he deposited with a kavalgar, who afterwards denied having received it, was worth 900 rupees, so, as there were twenty labourers besides headmen to share the spoil, the find must have been very extensive.

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" 5. On hearing of the discovery I notified the course to be pursued under the Act, but nothing was given up. The treasure recovered was deposited with the Civil Court, and the case was inquired into after due notification. The Court has decided, as per proceeding enclosed, that the terms of the Act were sufficiently observed and that the treasure should be restored to the finders.

" 6. This treasure was buried in the sandy tract between the coast and the large town of Alwartirunagari, some fifteen miles from the mouth of the Tambrapurni. It was found near an old avenue leading inland from what was once the city of Kāyal, and this treasure was probably buried some hundreds of years ago.

" 7. The coins are principally Arabic, but one is European. This, as far as can be ascertained, is a coin of Joanna of Castile, A.D. 1236. Some of the Arabic coins are still older: one bears the impress of the Mahomedan year 71, and another bears the name of Sultan Salaudeen, who may be the Saladin of history."

I here add the description of the coins sent to the Madras Government Museum by Mr. Puckle, kindly furnished to me by Dr. G. Bidie, Superintendent of the Museum.

" The coins are 31 in number, and the inscriptions are in Arabic or Kufic, with one exception, viz., that of a coin of Peter of Aragon, the legend on which is Latin in Gothic character. All the Kalifat coins, with the exception of nine, have been deciphered and belong to the 13th century. So of course does that of Peter of Aragon, it being after 1276. There is a doubt about some of the dates, but none are apparently later than 1300."

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